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NATIONAL REVIEW

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January 17, 1959

A JOURNAL OF FACT AND OPINION

For Every Business, a Way Out

JONATHAN MITCHELL

The Senate Stirs to Life

WILLARD EDWARDS

The Education of James Agee

EDGAR ANSEL MOWRER

Articles and Reviews by · · · · · JAMES BURNHAM

WM. F. BUCKLEY JR. · JOHN CHAMBERLAIN · MORTON CRONIN

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NATIONAL REVIEW

A JOURNAL OF FACT AND OPINION

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NATIONAL REVIEW is published weekly by National Weekly, Inc. —alternately at Orange, Conn. and New York, N.Y. (second-class mail privileges authorized at Orange, Conn. and New York, N.Y.).

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Address changes, undeliverable copies, and subscription orders should be sent to:

EDITORIAL OFFICES
150 East 35th St., New York 16, N.Y.
Telephone ORegon 9-7330

Published alternately at 440 Post Road, Orange, Conn., and 225 Varick Street, New York 14, N.Y.
RATES: $15.00 a year ($8.00 for the 32-page issues published at Orange, Conn., and $7.00 for the 8-page issues published at New York, N.Y.). Add $1.00 for Canada, $2.00 for other foreign subscriptions.
By arrangement with the Intercollegiate Society of Individualists, Inc. Lafayette Bldg., Philadelphia, the 32-page magazine is available to students and teachers at the special rate of $4.00 a year.
The editors cannot be responsible for unsolicited manuscripts unless return postage, or better, a stamped, self-addressed envelope is enclosed.
Opinions expressed in signed articles do not necessarily represent the views of the editors.

For the Record

Governor Brown of California is already in trouble with labor leaders who thought they had a commitment from him to oppose any new or increased consumer taxes in 1959. . . . Rockefeller supporters in New York are attempting to purge the "Citizens for Eisenhower-Nixon" organization of pro-Nixon elements. . . . Charles White of Republic Steel is organizing a $100-a-plate Nixon-for-President dinner scheduled for April, hoping to raise $250,000. . . . Thomas E. Dewey was reportedly behind the Modern Republican drive to stop Everett Dirksen as Republican leader in the Senate. Dirksen's famous Chicago Convention speech of 1952 still rankles.

Soviet Deputy Premier Mikoyan has received favored treatment from America before. It was through his hands that Lend-Lease aid to Russia was funneled during World War Two—after he had captivated Harry Hopkins. . . . Arab Communists, based in Damascus, have taken the precaution against any determined anti-Communist drive by Nasser, of dividing their Lebanese and Syrian centers. . . . In Moscow, reportedly, Chinese Communists are being ostracized from restaurants and places of amusement. The Soviet man in the street apparently resents Mao's ideological pretensions.

Almost seven million unionized workers received pay increases during 1958. An equal number are expected to get raises in 1959. . . . Paid out in unemployment compensation in 1958—$4 billion, almost twice as much as in any other year in history. . . . Watch for an accelerated organizational drive by the unions among white collar workers who, for the first time in U.S. history, outnumber laborers.

"Do it yourself" fluoridation is now entirely feasible, the American Chemical Society reports. A gadget has been developed which, when attached to a faucet, will produce fluoridated drinking water. . . . Sixty per cent of those questioned in a recent public opinion poll favored keeping our troops in Berlin even if it meant war. Only eight per cent called for immediate withdrawal. . . . East Coast hospitals are recruiting nurses in Ireland where there's a surplus of registered nurses.

The Manion Forum can now be heard from Philadelphia to New England every Sunday at 5:15 p.m. on Station WINS, New York.

The WEEK

● "I do not assume," Walter Lippmann recently told a *Time* interviewer, "that I am writing for anybody of a lower grade of intelligence than my own." Hmm.

● When Lewis Strauss was head of the Atomic Energy Commission, the idea was that the government would build small prototype atomic reactors while private industry took responsibility for constructing—and paying for—any atomic power stations used to produce for the private economy. Now, with Strauss gone, the *New York Times* reports that a "compromise" has been reached: the government will not only take charge of the prototype reactor program but will also provide "liberalized assistance" for any and all private atomic construction. Suggested definition of "compromise," to be inserted in all modern dictionaries: the art of making the other fellow go half way toward your goal.

● Economists, meeting in Chicago for the annual learned shindig held by the American Economic Association and allied organizations, were unable to reach a consensus on the subject of the causes of inflation. Dr. Gabriel Hauge, former adviser to President Eisenhower, suggested that it was a simple matter of overpaying ourselves for what we produce. Since goods, ultimately, pay for goods, there can be no real "overpayment" in the economic system as a whole: the total price is simply covered by the total amount and velocity of circulating medium. As they used to put it in the older textbooks, MV equals PT—or money times velocity equals prices times transactions. This is quite apparent to common sense; only the modern breed of economists makes a difficulty of it. The cure is equally obvious: stop adding paper increments to an already swollen avalanche of money, credit and "monetized" debt.

● Mr. Cyrus S. Eaton, whose efforts to paralyze the Western will do not diminish, is appealing to businessmen as a class to hearken to his views. He is writing personal letters to businessmen enclosing an editorial from Toronto's *Financial Post* ("one of the British Commonwealth's foremost business journals"), which dubs Mr. Eaton sane, realistic and brave, and Mr. Dulles fanatical and hateful. "The imminent nuclear catastrophe against which the editorial warns," writes Mr. Eaton, "would mean the utter ruin of our great American industrial complex. The politicians and generals who seem bent on leading us straight to this tragedy, have little or no stake in industry. Can businessmen afford not to speak up for a saner and more sensible foreign policy?" The politicians, and the people who elect them, have nothing substantial to lose by a war, whereas Mr. Eaton and his businessmen stand to lose railroads and ball bearing factories. Karl Marx was wrong in his generalizations about the behavior of the capitalist class. More businessmen in America despise Cyrus Eaton than listen to him. But there are businessmen who think with their stomachs, as Cyrus Eaton and the *Financial Post* would have them do; and on them the Communists, as one would expect trained Marxists to do, lean heavily.

● President Habib Bourguiba of Tunisia, following up his last month's break with the United Arab Republic on the charge that Nasser was trying to become dictator of the entire Arab world, arrested a group of Egyptian officers who, he said, had been sent by Nasser to Tunisia "to assassinate the chief of state himself and overthrow the present regime." He denounced Cairo's inflammatory propaganda and its intervention in the Algerian struggle. Western diplomats are hopeful that Mr. Bourguiba's firm stand will cut down the flow of Nasser's influence, guns and agents toward the west, and thus make easier a local settlement in Algeria. Britain and the United States, notwithstanding French objections, are expected to send arms to Tunisia in the near future.

● Even while asserting that "there is more democracy in Communist China than in the United States," Richard Cordon, the ringleader of the GIs who elected to stay with their captors after the Korean War, has decided to come home. The reason for his return to an "imperialist" nation bent on waging germ warfare? One of hundreds of thousands of students, Cordon was dragged from the study of ancient Chinese literature and assigned to lugging baskets of dirt on a dike project. "It was tough work," he said.

● Egyptian President Gamal Abdel Nasser is being taught the bitter lesson that politicians seem unable to learn by any method other than painful and direct experience: that you cannot do business with Moscow, except on Moscow's terms. Like so many tempted souls who deal with the devil, Nasser paid no attention to the blood-sealed terms of the contract when he welcomed Soviet "technicians," asked Soviet political help against the "Western imperialists," and accepted Soviet economic aid to shore up his hard pressed economy. His half-opening eyes suddenly begin to see that though Syria voted union with Egypt in the United Arab Republic, it is Moscow's agent,

Khalid Bakdash, who has been gaining control over Syrian policy; that Moscow, not Cairo, is the favored beneficiary of Iraq's anti-Western revolt; that throughout the Mideast the Communists are showing that they are as adept at anti-Nasser as at anti-Eisenhower slogans. So Nasser, caught in his trap, tries with one hand to lash out against the local Communists while with the other he signs the agreement on Soviet aid for the Aswan Dam. The lesson, that is to say, is still only half taught.

● The record of the oil companies in Venezuela in resisting the depredations of the socialists is one of cowardice and capitulation. In 1947, Rómulo Betancourt—retroactively and in violation of existing understandings—imposed a 50 per cent tax. The oil companies (perhaps because they felt they could expect little support from the government, which in recent years has not tended to regard private property as a human right) did nothing, other than attempt to ingratiate themselves with the hardbitten little Marxist who, once again, is President of Venezuela; and, once again, is bent on unlawfully increasing the Venezuelan take. We have seen the reaction to the election of Betancourt by a spokesman of Creole Petroleum (Standard Oil). It rings with defiance: "We had excellent relations with President Betancourt when he was in power before and we have no reason for thinking we don't have excellent relations now." And from Gulf Oil, iron resolution: "There is nothing we can do except sit still and see what develops." And when what develops develops, there will be nothing doing, we warrant, except more sitting still.

● In a week's reading, we have run across the statement (or some variant of it), "We now possess enough weapons to annihilate humanity," *eleven* times. Now that statement, which is used nowadays as a weapon of pacifist terrorism, is in and of itself, meaningless. It is like saying: "There is enough steel in the Mesabi range with which to make bullets to fire into the hearts of every man, woman and child." We probably do have enough nuclear weapons to wipe out mankind, just as we have enough bullets to wipe out mankind, assuming we deployed the bombs at just the proper intervals, and set them off simultaneously. That is a feat less difficult, perhaps, than killing an equal number of people by the use of bullets, but virtually impossible to bring off unless one assumes total cooperation by all the peoples of the world; assuming the peoples would, so to speak, sit still for it. In an atomic war millions stand to be killed all right, possibly as many millions as have been killed in the last years in Soviet China and Soviet Russia, possibly more. But not everyone. Let Mr. Cousins take heart.

● In Norfolk, writes Dan Wakefield in the *Nation*, "an irresistible force [equal rights for the Negro] is meeting "an immovable object [the South's long tradition of racial segregation]," and the costs to the community, he thinks, are going to be pretty high. For instance: The students who would have been high school seniors this year, Wakefield reports, are called the "Lost Class of '59"—the "first generation," he comments, "ever to be branded 'lost' as the result of state law." Let us concede Mr. Wakefield all he asks us to, even as to the value of the education those Norfolk seniors would have received, and ask him: Is it not true, on his own showing, that Norfolk is worse, not better off since June 1954? And that before the Supreme Court's *Brown* v. *Board of Education* decision in that month no state's schools had ever been closed by anyone or any law, municipal, state or federal?

● The latest thing in adult education these days is the short course offered by hitherto reputable universities like, for example, Northwestern, for the purpose of transforming the "organization men" on the high levels of our corporation bureaucracies into knowledgeable devotees of the higher things in life. "The most stimulating and effective teachers on campus," writes a contributor to the *Nation* who has been looking into the matter, "are shunted to the program. . . . The environment is vocational. . . . The students . . . freed completely from their jobs . . . live at a . . . hotel, attend classes between rounds of coffee breaks and field visits . . .; there are even daily cocktails . . . [Classes] are conducted in a carpeted lounge, with . . . ash-trays by each foam-rubber chair, and even a blower to keep the air clean." What worries the *Nation* and also the exemplars of moral and intellectual excellence who do the teaching, is that the execs don't turn promptly into socialists: ". . . no one is liberated by these courses. The student's basic loyalties remain unchanged . . . They are more sophisticated, but they are still man as money-maker rather than man as man [!]—I do not think [he is quoting one of the professors] that there's any danger of . . . interference with their primary devotion to the profit motive . . . [The] companies believe in liberal education insofar as it doesn't work [that is, 'liberate' students from the profit-motive]."

● The scientific outlook, as expressed by the learned Brazilian anthropologist who has been studying the Xetás (who, he boasts, are "the most primitive humans surviving in the modern world"): "It would be a crime against science to destroy Xetá culture now [by letting the Xetás move out of the jungle]. The Xetás must be saved intact in their . . . natural surroundings—at least until we can complete our study of them."

Khrushchev's Pie

Mr. Hanson Baldwin, the most informed and responsible of our military commentators, has explained that the successful launching of Russia's cosmic rocket "does not mean that the Russians have a well-defined lead in the race for militarily useful missiles." The military race, he estimates, "appears to be more or less even, with the Soviet Union ahead in certain types, the U.S. in other categories." For a working ICBM able to blow up any city on earth you do not need a rocket motor able to blast a vehicle to the sun. There are even experts who contend that Russia has thrown her strictly military development out of phase by squandering time and resources on Sputnik-Lunik spectaculars that have only partial military application.

And why not? It is a luxury that the Communists can tranquilly afford. They know that they deal with a pacifist-oriented nation that will not initiate general war. They therefore have nothing to worry about if they let their military program lag behind the pace it could sustain were it given triple-A priority.

The launching of *Lunik* (or *Mechta*—"dream"—as it is more officially and more revealingly named) was not primarily a military act. It was a gigantic slice, rather, of that Pie in the Sky of which the Wobblies used to sing. You are still cold and hungry, crowded and shabby, after forty years of the Revolution? Ah, but we are on our way to the moon and the planets and the stars! Who can doubt the Revolution that, before the awe-struck eyes of the world, thrusts mankind forward into Space? If Marxism can orbit the sun, then is not God indeed dead? Then can you—or you others in Asia, Africa, Latin America—doubt that "the international Party shall be the human race"?

The reasoning is flawed, but the emotion is compelling. For once, for perhaps the first time since the Revolution's earliest months, we cannot doubt the enthusiasm that breathes in the dispatches, and shows in the news photographs from Russia. For a moment at least the Dream seems to have brought the Russian people together in a cheering unity around their high-riding leaders. No doubt it was planned that way.

The Communist leaders rate psychological, political and moral results of this sort higher than a narrowly military achievement. We as a nation have been persistently inept in our attempts to act in this psychic dimension. We overlook the occasions and underestimate the power of the politico-moral effects. To find self-confidence within and win confidence without, a nation must be not only strong but known to be strong. And in our age of the revolt of the masses, nothing is shown except by grandiose mass demonstrations.

We do not agree with those panic-stricken congressmen—appeasers for the most part, as invariably happens—who demand under the sting of *Mechta* a vast, frantic crash project of space shots. First things should continue to come first, however humdrum in public appearance; and first must mean the ordered, systematic development of the military devices that will guarantee our national security and survival.

But military claims satisfied, we should surely have left some leeway to meet rather better than we have been doing the psychological and even the crass propaganda challenge. We could use more boldness, more flare, on our journey into space. If the mass audience must have showmanship with its missiles, should the homeland of Barnum, Belasco and Cecil B. De Mille back away from the competition?

Solution for the South?

Mr. David Lawrence believes the constitutional crisis in the South has been averted. The Supreme Court's action of last November 24 upholding the Alabama pupil placement laws beckons the way. The South, he feels, may now maintain schools that are almost wholly segregated, and still abide by the most recent interpretation of the Fourteenth Amendment. Alabama has presumably come up with a number of criteria, none of them racially based, governing the placement of pupils in schools (see box) which will nevertheless, in operation, continue the practice of social separation of the races.

If, in applying the pupil placement factors, the states exclude all Negroes from the public schools, the Supreme Court will almost certainly rule, early in the future, that the laws are a subterfuge, unconstitutional in application. Only if, in practice, a number of well qualified Negroes are admitted to predominantly white schools will the laws be permitted to stand.

But what of the solution itself? It begs, of course, the political and juridical problems raised by *Brown* v. *Board of Education;* but it may be well to beg these questions, which are revolutionary in nature. What of the cultural and anthropological consequences of integration for the Negro elite? Such a program would appear to be both moral and humane, if in practice it encourages the assessment of individual qualifications without regard for color, for that is the ideal relationship among men. Moreover, the program's premises are that there are marked and observable intellectual, psychic and cultural differences among people, and that these are educationally relevant—a bracing defiance in the face of the maniacal egalitarianism of the day. The egalitarians have discouraged inquiries into the sticky question of group characteristics. Under these laws, such inquiries be-

come directly relevant, and will be held up to the light of day.

The program is not, however, without danger. If the White community of the South coopts the Negro elite, the mass of Negroes may be more strictly ghettoized than ever. No one disputes that, under the Alabama law, Negroes will continue to be taught in virtually all-Negro schools. If they do so, but are deprived of the company of the most talented and challenging members of their own race, they are deprived of their most natural leaders. The academic flirtation of the Negro student with the white community is not likely to prove more than temporary; yet on returning to his own group, it may be as a stranger; the Negro may find that he has been effectively deracinated.

We persist in believing that the original intrusion of the Warren Court was not merely bad law and bad politics, but bad sociology; and that the Negroes will suffer the most.

Do They Think It Is Right, Just, Prudent?

From the *Jewish Newsletter*, "Independent Thinking on Jewish Problems," edited by William Zuckerman, Vol. XIV, No. 24, December 29, 1958:

"Christmas Observance and the Jews: The growth of clericalism in Israel is having an unmistakable effect on American Jews and has already resulted in a kind of propaganda war against the American public schools by Jewish Orthodoxy, supported by 'professional' Jewish organizations . . . The immediate cause of the propaganda war is the fact that this year the Orthodox rabbis in this country, supported by a number of non-religious Jewish organizations, have adopted a new policy towards carol singing and the presentation of Christmas plays by the children, which have become part of the American school scene and a way of life for all Americans, Christians and non-Christians alike. Hitherto the policy of the leading non-religious Jewish organizations has been to follow a liberal attitude toward these observances . . . This year, however, the Orthodox rabbinical organizations, strengthened by the power and prestige of the official theocracy in Israel, and supported by some non-religious Jewish organizations under Zionist influence, such as the American Jewish Congress, the Jewish Labor Committee and the NCRAC, together with the entire nationalistic and clericalist press, have changed this policy and have launched an all-out fight against *all* religious observances in the public schools including Hanukkah and Christmas, on the ground that they are unconstitutional.

"The new policy, as stated sharply by the American Jewish Congress, calls on the Jewish groups to take a strong stand against 'the intrusion of any religious holiday observance in the public schools . . . the observance of religious holidays of whatever faith has no place in the public school . . . In the words of the Supreme Court, "we have staked the very existence of this country on the faith that complete separation of state and religion is best for the state and best for the religion."'

"Do they think that it is right, just and prudent for a very small Jewish minority to impose its will on the vast majority of their Christian neighbors and deprive Christian children of what is admittedly one of their greatest joys and a source of beautiful reminiscences? . . .

"Suppose they succeed in banning the observance of Christmas in the schools, will that prevent the Jewish children and adults from observing Christmas in hundreds of other ways outside the schools? Will they ban the singing of Christmas carols in the streets? Will they do away with Santa Claus in the department stores, with Christmas trees and decorations in the streets, parks and other public places? Will they forbid their children to listen to carols on

"Only harm to our country and to humanity can come from entertaining here men whose hands drip with the blood of millions already dead, still dying or being crushed in slave camps." **Walter Judd to Eric Johnston**

the radio, or see Christmas performances on television? . . .

"Can they stop the observance of Christmas by Jewish *adults* to whom Christmas and its spirit of good-will, gaiety and generosity is the most beautiful symbol of America in contrast to the Old World of prejudice and hatred from which they fled? . . . Both the religious and non-religious Jewish organizations are basing their fight against the observance of Christmas in the public schools on the principle of separation of church and state. But at the same time, in Israel—a country which all these public bodies hold up as a model of perfect Jewish life, to be emulated by all Jews in the world—this principle is despised, banned and violated in the most flagrant manner . . . If the separation of church and state is so vital that it determines the very existence of a democracy, why is it forbidden by law in Israel? . . . Will such tactics help the Jewish 'defense' agencies in their defense of American Jews against antisemitism which their own actions are sure to bring about?"

Seventeen Standards for Pupils Under the Alabama Law

"In the assignment, transfer or continuance of pupils among and within the schools, or within the classroom and other facilities thereof, the following factors and the effect or results thereof shall be considered, with respect to the individual pupil, as well as other relevant matters:

1. "Available room and teaching capacity in the various schools;
2. "Availability of transportation facilities;
3. "The effect of the admission of new pupils upon established or proposed academic programs;
4. "Suitability of established curricula for particular pupils;
5. "Adequacy of the pupil's academic preparation for admission to a particular school and curriculum;
6. "The scholastic aptitude and relative intelligence or mental energy or ability of the pupil;
7. "The psychological qualification of the pupil for the type of teaching and associations involved;
8. **"Effect of admission of the pupil** upon the academic progress of other students in a particular school or facility thereof;
9. "Effect of admission upon prevailing academic standards in a particular school;
10. "The psychological effect upon the pupil of attendance at a particular school;
11. "The possibility or threat of friction or disorder among pupils or others;
12. "The possibility of breaches of the peace or ill-will or economic retaliation within the community;
13. "The home environment of the pupil;
14. "The maintenance or severance of established social and psychological relationships with other pupils and with teachers;
15. "Choice and interest of the pupil;
16. "Moral conduct, health and personal standards of the pupil;
17. "The request or consent of parents or guardian and the reason assigned therefore."

Why Some Republicans Leave Home

We are informed that Richard M. Bissell is about to be made Deputy Director of the Central Intelligence Agency, the new chief of what are perhaps CIA's most significant activities in relation to the country's security and survival; that Robert Matteson is to become a member of CIA's top intelligence unit, the National Estimate Board; and that Archibald S. Alexander is to be named head of the Free Europe Committee, an influential and much publicized position over which CIA exercises control.

Here are men of good repute, with records of public service. But do these traits qualify them for appointment—by a Republican President, moreover, in a nation supposedly governed under a party system —to three critical jobs of the most delicate and difficult order? Consider.

Mr. Bissell took one of his university degrees at the London School of Economics in 1932-33, the heyday of avowed Marxist Harold Laski, from whom, his entire career indicates, he learned his lessons well. From 1948-51 he was assistant and then acting Administrator of the Economic Cooperation Administration ("foreign aid"), where he stood for unconditioned largesse to all nations. He is consultant to the Social Research Council, which has financed so many hundreds of left-wing ideologues. Mr. Bissell, a Washington resident, is socially linked to the *Washington Post* set; and Mr. Bissell is a Democrat.

Robert Matteson is, it is true, a Republican: a Stassen Republican. For nearly two decades, until Harold Stassen's departure from Washington a few months ago, Mr. Matteson was his aide, confidant and brain truster. As such, he performed one of his last and typical services as Mr. Stassen's assistant at the incredible London conference on disarmament.

Archibald S. Alexander is a wealthy and socially prominent New Jersey resident. He has had a num-

ber of Washington assignments, including Under-Secretary of the Army. He also is a Democrat: twice (1948 and 1952) the unsuccessful New Jersey candidate for the U.S. Senate; chairman of the New Jersey delegation to the 1948 Democratic Convention; director of "Volunteers for Stevenson and Kefauver." Mr. Alexander wants to use the publicity attached to the Free Europe appointment to help build himself up to run in 1960 for governor of New Jersey, where by state law Mr. Meyner cannot succeed himself.

Not one of these three men has the knowledge, training or aptitude to meet the exacting requirements of his new post.

And because of the excuse of "security," none of these appointments comes up for Senate confirmation.

Ring in the New?

General Fulgencio Batista gave up the fight in the dawning hours of the New Year. From the Kremlin to Times Square, the world rejoiced at the fall of yet another Latin American dictator. And the United States was immediately pressured to purge itself of its suspect softness toward strong-man governments south of the border by immediate recognition of the new regime and massive financial assistance. (Two hundred million was the figure Representative Adam Clayton Powell, Jr., himself a notoriously reluctant taxpayer, proposed.)

We are skeptical that the quality of life in Cuba will improve. We have no brief for Batista, though we insisted that his attitude toward Communism was the matter of principal diplomatic relevance.

Now we have the unknown Fidel Castro, a 32-year-old bearded revolutionary. That Castro himself is a Communist is doubtful. His brother Raúl probably was, and in his close entourage there are at least five men with records in Communist operations: Victor Trapote and Alberto Bayo Giroud, who helped train his guerrillas, and are veterans of the Spanish Civil War; Candido Gonzales Morales and Santiago Días Gonzales, who have long records as Communist agitators in Cuba; and Guevara (Che) Serna, possibly Castro's closest associate, who was an officer in the Spanish International Brigade, served in the Arbenz government in Guatemala (which he still claims was not a Communist-dominated regime) and has been involved in Communist terrorist activities in both Panama and the Dominican Republic. Despite the insistence of the press that the Cuban revolt was not a Communist operation, Guevara's first public statement on arriving in Havana was that "the Communists have earned the right to be recognized as one of the legitimate political parties in Cuba." As for restoring democracy to the rebellion-torn island, the only gesture toward so doing to date has been the almost ritualistic announcement of an election 18 months hence. Meanwhile Provisional President Urrutia and his government will rule by guns and by decree.

The Market Heads for the Moon

The Wall Street professionals say, "You can't argue with the market." In a very important sense they are right, of course. The market price of common stocks resolves such a host of incommensurable variables—yield, earnings, safety, prospects, moods, management, judicial decisions, national politics, world developments—that it is hardly possible to conclude anything further than that stocks are worth what in fact buyers will pay and sellers take.

Even so, one cannot help feeling that in the second half of 1958 the stock market got ahead of itself, that its breathless rise was at a rate beyond what can be objectively motivated in basic economic terms. The average common stock yield dropped by the end of the year to nearly a percentage point below the average yield of high grade bonds (3.24 per cent against 4.10 per cent), a relation that in the past has always foreshadowed a dramatic market decline.

For this 1958 market advance the analysts offer the explanation of "inflation psychology"—a term that is not unrelated to "speculative frenzy." There is another, and novel, factor that may this time have a considerable influence. It seems possible that there is today in the United States a shortage of shares of stock in the same literal sense that there can be a physical shortage of shoes or cigarettes. The number of consumers of common stocks has shot up in a moon-missile curve. Broadened pension, trust and annuity funds, insurance companies, mutual funds and foreign institutions have been added to the millions of new individual stock purchasers (about twelve million today against perhaps half that many a decade ago). But the number of available shares has increased comparatively slowly, partly because the tax structure favors financing by bonds (the interest on which, unlike dividends, is defined as a cost of doing business) rather than by stock shares. The relative scarcity of the commodity brings a fierce competition for existing shares, especially for those of the highly publicized growth companies (IBM, Polaroid, General Electric, Minnesota Mining, etc.) whose presence in a mutual fund portfolio makes a persuasive and almost indispensable "window display" to pull in the mass customers.

If new money keeps pouring, directly or indirectly, into the various stock markets faster than new stock is issued, the average price has got to keep rising, just like the booming prices of the paintings that suit the current public taste. At that, even for fram-

ing, an IBM certificate, even at $550 a share, may be a better buy than a Picasso at $200,000.

Not Merely Gallic

The significance of de Gaulle's austerity measures for France is that the nation seems to be taking them with only token resistance. Unions have marched in the streets in protest—but at a gesture from the gendarmerie they have dispersed without violence and gone home in peace. Two eminent Socialists, former Premier Guy Mollet and Eugene Thomas, gave notice on December 2 that they were quitting the de Gaulle cabinet—but, politely, they hung on until de Gaulle was installed as President on January 8. The Left talked of being compelled to take the brunt of the Gaullist subsidy cuts, tax increases and wage freezes—but with the government promising a remission of taxes to industries which shared gains in profit and productivity with their workers, nobody on the Left could really maintain that de Gaulle is anti-labor.

So the Left, in France, goes out not with a bang but a simper. Morality becomes the new fashion—and the patient, tired of sugar pills, decides to take the strong medicine of deflation. The mood is not merely Gallic—it extends to the Argentine, where the Frondizi government is imposing measures designed to halt an inflation which has been going on since Perón's time. In Germany it looks like total currency convertibility before spring. Even in America, the politicians sense something in the air: witness the current Democratic uneasiness about being tagged the spending party. No, the mood is not merely Gallic. And despite the quacks who have insulated the Eisenhower Administration from its promptings, it will still manage to find its American symbol, sometime, somehow, somewhere.

Notes and Asides

From National Review *to Mr. Sulzberger to a Reader . . . and Back*

NATIONAL REVIEW, December 6, editorial: "The publishing firm of Devin-Adair endeavored to advertise one of its recent books in the *New York Times.* Most of the ad copy consisted in an extended quotation from a review of the book published in NATIONAL REVIEW. The reviewer summarized Mr. Reuther's career, as depicted in the book by Eldorous Dayton *(Walter Reuther: Autocrat of the Bargaining Table),* in language the *New York Times* found unfit to print. The ad was returned to the publisher. . . . The reviewer? John Chamberlain, who once served as daily book columnist of the *New York Times.* . . ."

From Mr. Arthur Hays Sulzberger to an Inquiring Reader

The incident did happen. Actually, however, there is another side to the story of which you should be advised.

We make a careful check of all editorial advertising, particularly with regard to libel, and in this case felt that situation was being rather too closely approached. We were discussing changes in the advertising with the advertising agency which would have eliminated our fear when the advertisement was suddenly canceled.

I have deliberately gone over the matter [myself]. . . .

From the Reader to National Review

. . . For the *Times* to be fearful of a libel suit seems a little far-fetched—but not beyond the bounds of possibility. Was the proposed change so important that the withdrawal was in effect forced, or was it a voluntary withdrawal?

From National Review *to the Reader cc: Mr. Sulzberger*

No proposed changes were made to the advertiser by the Times *and none by definition would have been satisfactory given the fact that the advertiser's intention was to reproduce a published review by a famous literary critic. Mr. Sulzberger's contention that the offending passages "rather too closely approached" libel rather too closely approaches nonsense to serve as a satisfactory explanation for what was an act of pure censorship. We had published the statement in question, in* NATIONAL REVIEW, *and no subpoenas were rattled, and none will be for the very simple reason that the generalizations about the meaning of Reuther's program by John Chamberlain are eminently defensible and clearly fall within the realm of fair comment. There is, finally, the matter of a free press, about which you will no doubt continue to read a great deal in the* New York Times.

Our contributors: WILLARD EDWARDS ("The Senate Stirs to Life") is an ace Washington correspondent of the *Chicago Tribune.* . . . WILHELM ROEPKE ("A Dream") is the internationally famous Swiss economist. . . . EDGAR ANSEL MOWRER ("The Education of James Agee"), distinguished foreign correspondent, columnist and broadcaster whose career has spanned both world wars, is at present American Editor of *Western World.* . . . K. S. TEMPLETON ("Clio's Tattered Robes") is a writer on history who formerly taught that subject at the Kent School. . . . MORTON CRONIN ("In Praise of Injustice") is Associate Professor of English at Los Angeles College.

NATIONAL TRENDS

L. BRENT BOZELL

Not for His Health—or Ours

Anastas Mikoyan took tomato juice and toast for breakfast. He learned that Howard Johnson's sells prewrapped doughnuts, and that U.S. motel owners make a personal profit. He investigated parking meters, walked through red lights, admired national monuments and talked with squirrels. Being something beyond the ordinary Russian tourist, he was to be the guest of honor at a dinner hosted by Eric Johnston and at a luncheon given by the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations. Later on, he might even meet the President and the Vice President. Also, on account of old grudges, he was forced to avoid Hungarian emigrants, and to endure the snub of a congressman named Judd who said he had "blood on his hands" . . .

Mr. Mikoyan could put down his Monday *Washington Post* and conclude that the psychological disarmament of the U.S. was progressing very well indeed. Two years ago, Marshal Tito had to cancel his trip to Washington because of the furor in Congress and in the press. Six months ago, Khrushchev was promised angry demonstrations if he showed his face in New York. Now, a single congressman stepped forward to question whether Soviet-American relations had reached a pass where the U.S. could becomingly fete the Kremlin's No. 2 ruler.

Mr. Mikoyan, if he looked around, could discover a few other outposts of resistance. One of them, the House Committee on Un-American Activities, released a report that very Monday morning that should have pierced the pall of complacency over the land. It didn't; unlike Mikoyan, who participates in them, most Americans have better things to do than follow the groin-and-eyeball aspects of World War Three.

The report, called "Patterns of Communist Espionage," contained significant new material on the subject; primarily, however, it was a résumé of known Soviet spy operations in the last decade—the first documented work of its kind. The Committee justified its survey thus:

"The American public today is bombarded ... with news of the moment. Events pile on events ... so that [the] case of the exposed spy of a year ago [or] two years ago ... is forgotten ... The Kremlin's alleged 'peaceful' intentions [on the other hand] are not forgotten because Moscow, by repeated declarations, [keeps] its *stated* desires before the people of the world ... For this reason, many people do not grasp the pattern of continuing worldwide Soviet espionage ... which reveals Moscow's true designs . . ."

But even its compiled cases, the Committee warned, "represent only some of Moscow's partial failures. They are the exposed part of the iceberg which is nine-tenths concealed and permanently hidden from view." The following datum helps illustrate: in 1956 the head of the Justice Department's Internal Security Division testified that the FBI had turned over 481 cases of espionage in the preceding year and a half. With the exception of "a handful or so of them," the Committee said, the details of these cases have never come to light.

The first section of the report was devoted to the publicized cases of Soviet espionage that have been prosecuted within the last five years. In the United States, there were ten—Jack and Myra Sobel, Jacob Alban, the George Zlatovskis, Rudolph Abel, Roy Rhodes, the Alfred Sterns, Mark Zborowski. All were convicted, save the Zlatovskis and Sterns who have refused to return to the U.S. and stand trial. Eight of the ten were fingered by a single U.S. counterspy—Boris Morros. During the same period, two Communist spies were uncovered in Japan, one in Finland, nine in Greece, three in Austria, one in Iran, four in Germany, three in Denmark, seven in Sweden.

Another section dealt with previously undisclosed cases "which have been the subject of investigation by this committee in the past year." Here real names were deleted for security reasons. Two patterns of Soviet espionage emerged from the thirteen cases cited. Communist diplomatic officials are engaged in more or less continuous "recruiting operations" in the U.S.; the targets are normally Americans seeking to visit Iron Curtain countries who are in a position to give Red embassies defense information as the price of "cooperation."

A third section reviewed the known cases of espionage involving Communist diplomats stationed in the U.S. Twelve Soviet embassy officials were named; five members of the Soviet UN delegation; still others from satellite missions.

Could these be isolated instances? Let us listen, the Committee suggested, to the defected Soviet intelligence agents—the Kravchenkos, Orlovs, Petrovs, Khokhlovs and so on. Their testimony tells a single story: a major function of every Soviet diplomatic and trade mission is espionage (a Mikoyan directive, in his capacity of foreign trade minister, was mentioned in this regard); every Soviet emissary is regarded as a potential spy and tends to be judged, on his return, by the secret information he has pilfered rather than by his official performance; for many such emissaries—agents of the MVD and other intelligence services—espionage is the sole assignment; ambassadors are invariably implicated since they must supervise the various intelligence services operating under diplomatic cover. Here, then (though the Committee did not specifically say so), was perhaps the most cogent argument of all for severing diplomatic relations with the USSR.

Or, at least, for treating Soviet diplomats as enemies. The purpose of Mikoyan's mission to the U.S. is probably not to direct spy activities; more likely, it has something to do with loans, or Berlin, or laying the psychological foundation for a summit meeting. The point is that the government Mikoyan works for is bent on destroying the U.S., and that it does not send its deputy premiers or anyone else abroad for their health.

The THIRD WORLD WAR

JAMES BURNHAM

Are High-yield Nuclear Weapons Obsolescent?

Suppose that you were the person responsible for the decision on general ("strategic") nuclear bombardment. Under what circumstances would you be willing to press the button? This is what "brinksmanship" comes down to.

Within a few hours, or even minutes, of your order there would be visited on the enemy an unparalleled destruction of life and property. But you must further assume that your decision will also bring, at most a couple of hours later, comparable destruction within your own borders. And this compound conclusion follows, of course, whether you are a Russian or an American.

Your calculations may convince you that your side will show a net gain on the exchange. You may believe that you can sustain without collapse the damage that you will have to accept, but that the enemy will be irrecoverably wounded. Even so, you will still be knowingly responsible for history's greatest mass destruction in your own country as well as his. Moreover, the development of intercontinental missiles will tend to equalize damage-producing capabilities.

His Weapons and Ours

It is the peculiar feature of war in the missile age that when you press the red button you are launching the enemy's strategic weapons as well as your own.

Now it will be to your advantage to induce the enemy to think that you might press the button for any of a number of reasons. If he does X or Y or Z, well, then, you hint that you are ready to go all-out. Thereby you seek to "deter" him from doing X or Y or Z. Thus Khrushchev lately rattled his missiles over the Suez attack, possible Western intervention in the Hungary revolt, and missile bases in the NATO countries; and both Khrushchev and Mr. Dulles have rattled back and forth over Quemoy, the Middle East, and now Berlin.

Has this been sober statement of resolve or attempted bluff? Probably bluff, it would seem on the record. At any rate, no bombs have been forthcoming whether the other side backed down or drove ahead.

Would you push the button over something — anything — that might happen in Indonesia, Mozambique, Bolivia, Afghanistan? To save Jakarta, La Paz, Kabul or Sofala from the enemy, would you choose to destroy Chicago, New York, Detroit and San Francisco? — or, if you are thinking from the other side, Sverdlovsk, Moscow, Kuibyshev, Leningrad? That would be the meaning, direct and certain, of your act.

How about, then, Berlin? Decision becomes more painful. The relation between Berlin and ultimate security —for both sides—is both more immediate and more obvious than in the case of any outlying or peripheral region. For our side, Berlin is part of our civilization and culture, and by past adventure a prime, inescapable symbol. And yet . . . Yet, the final decision will be given not by a German but by a Russian, American or Englishman, for only these have access to the red and fatal button.

From Inside the Fortress

Many conclude that the command for all-out strategic onslaught will never be given except in the event of prior enemy attack on the homeland, since nothing short of this would ever be judged sufficient motivation for accepting the known and inevitable consequences.

Exactly how and when will we judge that the homeland is under attack? When we see the first blips on the radar screens? If that were to be the test, it would all have been over long ago. The blips that could mean planes or missiles heading toward us may be transports off course, or weather balloons, meteors or temperature inversion layers, unannounced satellites nosing into orbit. And yet, of course, they might be nuclear bomb vehicles on their way. So we alert the defensive net, point the planes in the air toward target, and order missile launching crews to stand by. But we do not push the final button.

When the first city or base explodes, then? Surely at that point . . . But conceivably the enemy was not responsible? Could it have been a meteor or earthquake, a local reactor or a pilot gone berserk, or an incredible accident like those Nike missiles that suddenly went off in New Jersey?

The Atlas satellite suggests that the problem will soon be raised to a fantastic new level. Both sides will be able to place in orbit scores of vehicles with nuclear warheads, and aiming mechanisms to direct them on target at the tickle of an electronic trigger. Circling through the sky over Moscow, New York and London will be weapons able to obliterate each city, pre-set with the address.

Where is the Battlefield?

Can it be that this entire strategic dimension of warfare is now outside of deliberate human calculation, so that in a sense it is no longer relevant to human problems? Granted no sudden breakthrough on defense, must we not assume: *either* no one under any circumstances will initiate an all-out strategic attack, *or*—if someone does—the consequences will be so catastrophic and incalculable that there is no point trying to take them into advance account.

If this is the real situation, then the real battlefield of the struggle for the world is not space and heavy nuclear armament. Under the cover of the delicate spatio-nuclear stalemate, the decision is being fought out through the limited wars and revolts of the periphery, and the political subversion and counter-subversion of the homelands.

If this is true, the priority given by our defense policy to "massive retaliation" may be the reverse of what the situation now demands.

For Every Business, a Way Out

Big Business, says the author, now has a mobility enabling it to sidestep the expropriations of foreign governments and the depredations of native bureaucrats . . . at least for the time being

JONATHAN MITCHELL

As this is written, the Middle East is having a respite, but trouble will come there again, and especially trouble for the major American oil companies. The executives of these companies are sophisticated, and the Middle East has been ten years a-brewing. How is it they seemingly find themselves stomach-down over an oil drum?

Understandably, the executives are chary of explanations. The careless dropping of a verbal match might put the Middle East in flames. The industry, however, swarms with independent engineers, statisticians and investors, and many of these blame the Liberal ideologists in the State Department's lower ranks.

Their story is one of public promise and secret knife thrust. It starts with Dr. Mossadegh's seizure of the refinery belonging to Anglo-Iranian at Abadan, back in 1951. Anglo-Iranian appealed to the British Foreign Office; the Foreign Office said it would feel able to act only with American support. The American oil executives obtained what they believed to be explicit State Department pledges, and a British brigade was flown as far as Cyprus. It was never used; at the last moment the U.S. failed to come through. The American executives tried to find out how and why they had been double-crossed; their investigation petered out in the complexities of the State Department's infra-structure.

The Abadan pattern has been many times repeated. In the Suez affair two years ago, the American oil executives were assured the Canal would go, not to Colonel Nasser, but to a Canal Users' Association. (Had this promise been kept, both Colonel Nasser and Communist influence would have had a setback; Colonel Nasser's present power rests mainly on his Suez "victory.") When, last August, the American executives' chief friend in the Middle East, Nuri Pasha, and his sovereign, Faisal, were torn to pieces in the streets of Baghdad, my informants say the executives did nothing. Their crops were full.

Companies Passive Politically

The State Department's record is obviously shameful, but that it explains the passivity of the oil executives, who are grown men, I simply do not believe. Mr. Bernard Goldfine, let us say, did not sit weeping on a Washington curbstone. I am not suggesting Mr. Goldfine's techniques. A few months after Abadan, the Republicans met in their famous, and infamous, 1952 Convention. If the problem of the oil executives was the cleansing of the State Department, why did they not back Senator Taft? (One or two oil companies did, but the largest were conspicuous Eisenhower supporters.)

The political passivity of large corporations has been explained by a fear of stockholders' suits, and Washington's inquisitorial agencies. Corporation executives are supposed, at the current stage of the business recovery, to shrink from exorcising the Liberal spenders from Washington. And again, their Research and Development units depend, in many cases, on Defense contracts, and these R&D's are their ewe lambs. In my experience, however, such explanations are partial and unfair; I believe there is a more important explanation.

My first clue came from an executive of a world-wide mining concern. In the 1930s, the concern spent many millions on a mining property in Eastern Europe; at the outbreak of World War Two, the first ton of ore was about to be raised. The property was lost by the Yalta territorial arrangements. My friend put in many evenings with pad and pencil. He satisfied himself that, if his concern had sunk only a single shaft, and only to the shallowest part of the ore body, it would have spent only one-twentieth of what it did spend, and could have begun taking out ore two years earlier. When Hitler marched, it would have had back all, or nearly all, of its money.

Quickie jobs of this kind turn my friend's stomach. Piecemeal development offends engineering niceties, and is often hideously wasteful. But political risks in today's world, my friend thinks, leave no choice. He does not give five minutes a year to worrying about the State Department Liberals or the advance of Communist imperialism. In his present ventures, his concern already has its money back, or will have directly.

With this clue, I went to my oil-industry informants. By general estimate, dollars put into the Middle East have almost certainly returned in from two and one-half to four years, which is to say the entire Middle East investment of the oil majors up to 1954-1956 is now back in New York.

For an in-and-out, off-again-gone-again policy to succeed, a corporation must have alternative uses for its recovered capital. My mining friend's concern is ceaselessly on the hunt for new properties; if it is pushed out of one, another (usually several others) is waiting. If worst came to worst in the Middle East, what would the oil companies find waiting?

According to my informants, the oil executives dislike talking about alternatives to the Middle East; the mere notion they might be pushed out irritates them. Nevertheless, it is

their duty to look ahead. What they fear is Colonel Nasser's swallowing the whole Arabian Peninsula. Until that time, one Arab country will tend to offset another. If the new government of Iraq, for example, were to nationalize the Iraq Petroleum Company (Standard, N. J., 23.75 per cent; Socony-Mobil, 23.75 per cent), the greedy Saudi-Arabian princelings would rejoice to see the production of Aramco (Standard, N. J., 30 per cent; Socony-Mobil, 10 per cent) correspondingly increased. Arab nationalist blood is not thicker than oil.

The Arabian Peninsula may fall to Colonel Nasser any afternoon, or never. The recent Iraqi revolution was no more foreseeable than an epileptic fit, and other upsets are likely to have the same brutal swiftness. But when (and if) Colonel Nasser, like Ozymandias, becomes king of the Middle East kings, the executives believe he will still have to sell oil, and (what fascinates them) have to raise its selling price. In his book, and a thousand speeches, he has said the Middle East has been robbed. He must seem to do better, or be swept aside by his own extremists. Once Mideast oil becomes no longer cheap, the executives think they may have wide alternatives.

Some will be here in the United States. Imports of cheap Middle East oil have been a principal cause of the nagging softness in the United States price. If the Middle East price were to be put up, the United States price would presumably become pleasantly profitable, together with other domestic discoveries. The benign effects would be felt in Canada, the Sahara and elsewhere. One or two of my informants said the oil majors ought to go to Colonel Nasser with knees in suppliance bent.

I have omitted the "ifs" and "buts" in the executives' thinking. Almost certainly the oil majors have got back the money put in pumping stations, pipelines, docks and refineries in the Middle East, but these installations still have great value. Colonel Nasser might pay something for them (he has made a gesture toward the stockholders of the Suez Canal Company), but not much. Again, to start or increase production in the offshore fields in the Gulf of Mexico and elsewhere would be neither simple nor easy. One of the executives summed up: "We would be hurt, but we wouldn't be dead."

This, however, seems not be the full measure of the executives' worries. According to the more knowledgeable of my informants, they look on the Middle East as symptomatic of troubles everywhere. At the moment, Colonel Nasser may be the only ruler wishing to throw them out. But the governments of Iraq, Iran and Saudi-Arabia are beating in upon the 50-50 division of royalties, the oil majors' Holy Ark. Each month they extort new fringe benefits, and they have made 60-40 and 75-25 agreements with Japanese, Italians and upstart Americans. In this hemisphere, the Venezuelans are waiting to spring. Prime Minister Diefenbaker has won two elections on the iniquity of foreigners' owning Canada's oil fields; in his heated moments, he has sounded much like Colonel Nasser.

Men and Markets

The oil executives blame the industry's own maturity. Fifty years ago, the discovery of oil depended on the twitch of oil men's noses. The local rulers' hope of riches lay with these strangers in greasy clothes who talked with the mile-deep gods of stratified rock. With tremulous anticipation, they signed whatever papers the strangers put before them. Today American and European universities turn out oil geologists, with seismographs in leatherette cases, by the thousands, and they can be hired at a monthly wage. With his seizure of the Suez Canal, Colonel Nasser found that dredging engineers, and dredging-equipment makers, would take his money as readily as the Canal Company's. He has the example of Italy's ENI as assurance that the human and mechanical means of producing oil can be bought in the market. Privately-owned oil companies have become dispensible.

A parallel change has come about in the oil industry's markets. Fifty years ago, oil was scarce, precious, and reserves were negligible. Today the Middle East, by itself, will keep oil plentiful (and, unless Colonel Nasser rides to the rescue, cheap) for another twenty years. Natural gas has cut savagely into the industry's sales; ahead is nuclear power. Thirty years from now, oil may not be worth finding.

But again there are alternatives. My informants pointed out that the weight of the oil majors' recent investments has been not in discovering and producing oil, but in facilities for refining it. Here technological advances in lubrication systems are being made at a dizzying rate. Even if the producing side of the industry becomes static and profitless, refining can be counted on to proliferate riotously, and bring in tank-trailersful of cash. Beyond refining is the new industry of petro-chemistry. Standard, N.J., is at the moment advertising a material for wall-to-wall carpeting, and the Texas Company has opened the largest laboratory yet built for nuclear irradiation. Whatever may happen on the producing side, the oil majors are again not "dead."

What my informants were talking about was, of course, the celebrated mobility of modern corporations. They can shift from one geographical area to another, and, more importantly, from one industry to another. Examples of industry shifts (jargon term: product diversification) are endless and familiar: an airframe company excells in metallurgy, a camera company makes fabrics.

The Exit Door

The implications of this mobility are far from being understood, and may be very great. I am convinced mobility has silently revolutionized the concern of corporations for politics. A corporation now has a defense. If taxation becomes unendurable or nationalization is threatened, it can toss its belongings in a wheelbarrow and trundle off to a new job. Wherever a corporation stands with its back to a wall, there is a little door marked "Exit."

In the nineteenth century, only new, and rapidly expanding, businesses had this mobility. Mr. Astor on the Oregon Trail and Mr. Goodyear over his wife's cookstove were highly mobile; so was the British textile industry in its expansionist period after the Napoleonic Wars. But most nineteenth-century businessmen were rigidly locked in place, and without alternatives. The rea-

sons were many and complex, an obvious one being the inefficiency of attic-inventors, on whom new products depended, as compared to the R&D units. "Old" businesses, in the nineteenth century, had to stay put, and keep on doing the same thing.

When, as with the oil majors in the Middle East, "old" businesses operated abroad, they lay at the mercy of local rulers. To survive they had to have their home government's gunboats. Because their markets were non-expansible, they also had to have protection against their competitors. The East India Tea Company had to have protection against both the maharajahs and its Dutch and French rivals. The Company, and all businessmen in "old" businesses, saw to it their home governments were pro-business. The protection of business property abroad, in those days, was an established rule of international law.

Why Nasser Flourishes

Colonel Nasser is a test of how great the change has been. What real distinction can be drawn between his Arab nationalists and the Indian sepoys, Chinese Boxers and Sudanese dervishes? Nasser wishes to throw the foreign devils out; so did the others. Governor Stevenson speaks of Arab nationalism, in fruity tones, as an Irresistible Force. To the leaders of yesterday, the sepoys, Boxers and dervishes were madmen whom it was their duty to exterminate. If Colonel Nasser had lived a century ago, he would long since have been hunted down by Egyptian soldiers in British pay, led by a British subaltern. The subaltern would have been a hero to London girls, and Nasser's execution applauded by the civilized world. Nasser is alive because of the political passivity of present-day corporations.

Home-keeping businessmen in the nineteenth century were under parallel necessities. They had to ward off the home government's taxes and other persecutions; they had to have its support in mitigating competition among themselves. On the Continent, this intimate and nervous relationship was everywhere evident; the famous Franco-German steel cartel was its ultimate and perfect flower. In America, the relationship was slower in developing. It was delayed by the frontier, the federal character of the government and the high proportion of "new" businesses to "old" ones. Soon after the Civil War, however, first the trusts, then nation-wide corporations, were put together, and at once businessmen had a similar fear of the Washington government, and need for its benevolence.

The change since Mark Hanna's chairmanship of the Republican National Committee seems to me great and obvious. But, as elsewhere in this blurred and hasty snapshot, there are "ifs" and "buts." Today's large corporations (the thousand, say, on the New York Stock Exchange) are marvelously mobile, with a resulting passivity toward politics. But there are many smaller present-day businesses as "old" and rigid as in the nineteenth century, and with that century's political anxieties. They have suffered sorely in the past few years, and their trade associations look on the Washington bureaucracy with the bloodshot eyes of a fighting bull. And among the large corporations themselves, there are a few white blackbirds (General Electric and, most recently, Gulf Oil) that have made participation in politics a corporation policy.

These qualifications do not, in my opinion, alter the general case. Large-scale businesses, in Mr. Hanna's time, exercised great influence in politics, and won elections. Now the oil majors sit unhappily, but passively, before the State Department's Liberal-infested infra-structure. The cliché is: "We can live with Washington," meaning a stealthily anti-business one. In Mr. Hanna's time, leaders of large-scale business felt they could *not* live with an anti-business Washington.

Thoughts for Conservatives

This revolution needs to be recognized and pondered by those of us who have been Taft, McCarthy and Knowland followers. One conclusion is obvious and bitter. In times past, we could look to business for support; we must disabuse ourselves. The churches, universities, women's organizations, labor unions, belong to the Liberals. Political conservatives have no influential group in the community on which to base themselves.

Another conclusion, less easy to nail down, seems to me equally important. If the corporations won't help us, neither are they helping the Liberals. We have not had hard times for a generation; our periodic slow-ups (like that from which we are emerging) have been endurable. For this, the ability of corporations to move from "old" areas of the economy to profitable ones has, in great measure, been responsible. As an intellectual exercise, the Welfare State has arrived at a dead end. Professor Galbraith, bravely facing up to the Liberals' predicament, has worked out in his recent book an ingenious scheme for bringing back poverty. Less brave, and wilier, Liberals have moved off to the probably inexhaustible muck-heaps of underprivilege in India and other foreign parts. Even Mr. Khrushchev has a wet finger in the wind, and balances his excoriations of the American exploiters with promises to catch up with them.

The difficulty, of course, is that intellectual substance has small relation to political power. The Liberals sit cozily within the fortress of the Washington bureaucracy, with an $80-billion-a-year apparatus stretching out to every big-city block and country crossroads. They're in and we're out. In the fable of cat, bell and mice, we are the mice.

The executives of the oil majors don't like Liberals, nor do most corporation executives. They would prefer political conservatives in Washington. It isn't that they don't care at all, but they don't care much. They can always sidestep the Liberals; they can always escape through the little door. They wish us well, but we can take the bumps.

Implausibly but charmingly, they seem to think they can sidestep Mr. Khrushchev, too. The USSR is committed to Communism, but it is also committed to prosperity. If the material dialectic becomes sufficiently material, maybe the dialectic will wither away. Not overly impressed by Mr. Khrushchev's Sputnik, they do not think he can go to war; there will always be another new United States weapons system, the secrets of which his agents have not yet stolen. We must hope their self-confidence is justified; if they are wrong, civilization will not forgive them.

from HERE *to* THERE

JOHN CHAMBERLAIN

Company "Fringe Benefits"

Everyone knows that the federal income tax takes from 20 to 91 per cent of a man's income. That's bad enough, particularly when one has to suffer the double jeopardy of watching the politicians kick the money around when they get it. (Aha, there, crop supports for peanuts.) But there is still another bitter pill to swallow: the average employed citizen gets the free use of only 75 or 80 per cent of the money which the government *doesn't* take away from him.

You don't believe it? Well, consider the tale of "fringe benefits"—or "fringe detriments," as my friend F. A. ("Baldy") Harper prefers to call them.

The fringe benefit comes decked in the raiment of a lovely thing. Who wouldn't relish a pension? Who could be against sick-leave pay? Who doesn't want to be blanketed into the company's group life insurance policy? Who can be curmudgeonly enough to oppose the slice that is taken out of the weekly paycheck for social security?

Welfare in a Straitjacket

Well, if you are speaking of irresponsibles, there is no argument against the spread of fringe benefits. But what this department doesn't like about them is that they take an equal whack out of every man's paycheck whether every man needs someone to do his saving for him or not.

Take Mr. A, for example. He has his own life insurance policy or policies. He carries accident insurance. He is a careful man, doesn't carouse, uses his vacations to good advantage, and takes cod liver oil for breakfast. He is almost never sick.

What does this man get out of a corporation sickness or accident policy?

Nothing very much. Yet he helps pay for the fringe health and sickness benefits of others who work for the corporation.

Then there is the man who is in the company "thrift plan." It may be a good plan. The company may match an employee's savings dollar for dollar. That makes it almost necessary to get aboard. But the employee has no say when it comes to investing the money. Companies have to be careful in handling their employees' savings; they ordinarily put them into bonds or company stock or some other safe security. But what if the employee suddenly makes a brilliant deduction about a Zenith or an American Motors Company's future? In most cases the only way in which he can switch his "fringe benefit" savings into Zenith or American Motors is to quit the company and take the sum as a departing gift.

Out of Paycheck—$1,650

Not so long ago, when I was holed up in a dreary hotel room a thousand miles from home, I picked up a copy of Kiplinger's *Changing Times*. It reprinted some figures from the U.S. Chamber of Commerce's "Fringe Benefits 1957." The Petroleum industry (so I read) spends $1,650 per year per employee for fringe benefits. That comes to some 27 per cent of the money payroll. Banks, finance and trust companies put in an average of $1,300 per person per year, or close to 32 per cent of the payroll. Printing and publishing companies allocate an average of $1,000 per person to the fringe "package," amounting to 20 per cent of the payroll. With chemical companies it is $1,100, or 24 per cent of a man's wages.

The Kiplinger editor saw nothing remiss in all this. And, given the crazy tax structure of the U.S., which permits a corporation to pay a man more retainable advantages if it offers him fringe benefits instead of hard cash, there is no good argument against it. But, in my libertarian way (J. Kenneth Galbraith calls me an incurable romantic), I kept thinking how I might feel if I were working for a petroleum company and had $1,650 whacked out of my paycheck to pay for fringe benefits which I might never be sick enough, or gregarious enough, to get. I don't know what petroleum companies do for their employees that is worth $1,650 a year—but I would gladly forego a free swimming pool or bowling alley or access to a credit union in order to put my hands on $1,650. That would buy a Volkswagen, a year's tuition at a good college, or provide for a hefty down payment on a house. My old age? Well, if a man can get himself enough extra cash to buy mobility, or an education, or a shelter, he is a long way toward creating for himself enough extra earning power to pay for his own annuity.

More than Cash

There is no use arguing against fringe benefits as long as the tax structure remains what it is. When a company provides its employees with meals at a discount, or periodic medical check-ups, or deferred payments that are collectible as "consultation" money in the years after retirement, the "fringe benefits" don't have to be entered on the annual income tax form. But the tax structure and the fringe benefits that have been devised to get around it take more than cash out of an employee's pockets. They take from him the control of his own life.

You may say, "What of it?" You may say that the average man isn't up to taking care of his own needs for insurance, for an annuity, for periodic physical examinations. But that is certainly to take a dim view of the "common man."

The curious thing is that this department, which holds that the common man is educable to the point of learning to provide for his own insurance, his own bowling alleys, his own health examinations (any union worth joining could get him that bowling alley money in cash), is looked down upon by those who equate libertarianism with a "reactionary" philosophy. Yet the same "liberal" enemies of libertarianism, who profess to love humanity, think the common man is "too damn dumb" (Harry Hopkins' phrase) to look out for himself.

Letter from Mexico

E. v. KUEHNELT-LEDDIHN

Mexico Observed

With the installation of a new President, "elected" in nationwide polls, but actually chosen by a closed caucus of the P.R.I., Mexico's dominant Leftist party, many Mexicans are asking themselves where their country actually stands in the timetable of history. The newspapers, bowing to the orders of the government, produced a flood of articles praising Lopez Mateos as an incorruptible, brilliant, photogenic and energetic leader of the nation, and engaged in a veritable orgy of self-congratulation. Mexico, they reiterated, was better off economically, had never enjoyed such admiration in the concert of nations, had never more justly called itself the leader of the Latin-American nations. The sobering-up process, though hastened by the popular uprising in San Luis Potosi against the governor imposed by the capital, has only recently begun.

It is quite true that the self-satisfaction which prevailed both within and beyond the little world of the P.R.I. has substance. There are clouds on the economic horizon of the Mexican Republic, but the peso is a hard currency, unemployment is scarce, foreign capital, so necessary for the well-being of Mexico, is returning to the country where it had been exposed to so many cruel confiscations. The population of the Republic is mounting steadily and now is larger than that of Spain or of the Argentine; the claim has been made that Mexico City is nearing the four-million mark; and the road network is being extended with remarkable speed. Even the tension between Church and State is abating with every year and the laws against the clergy are falling into disuse.

However, many industries which flourished during World War Two and/or during the Korean crisis are suffering radically curtailed exports since they cannot match the quality or price of the products of other nations; and the rumor persists in financial circles that the peso will again be devalued. (The last slash brought it down from eight to 12.50 to the dollar.) Tariffs wall Mexico around protecting artificial industries and inflating prices for essential imported goods, which damages the national economy. To a country with such distances as Mexico the automobile is not a luxury; yet while taxis are desperately needed, cars (which must be imported) still carry a 100 per cent import tax.

Operation Cat-and-Mouse

The stream of tourists and the building of gorgeous hotels continue, especially in Mexico City and in Acapulco. One wonders how foreign investors are protecting their rights in Acapulco, since a Mexican law prohibits the purchase of real estate by foreigners in areas adjoining the borders and the coast. There is a certain uneasiness among American cattle breeders in the Northern states over a possible confiscation of their property—a confiscation which is possible though not likely. The Mexican P.R.I. government delights in holding these swords of Damocles above the heads of enterprising foreigners (who seem to know how to "arrange" themselves), and of Mexican citizens who trust to their good luck, their influential political connections, and the persuasive power of money liberally distributed.

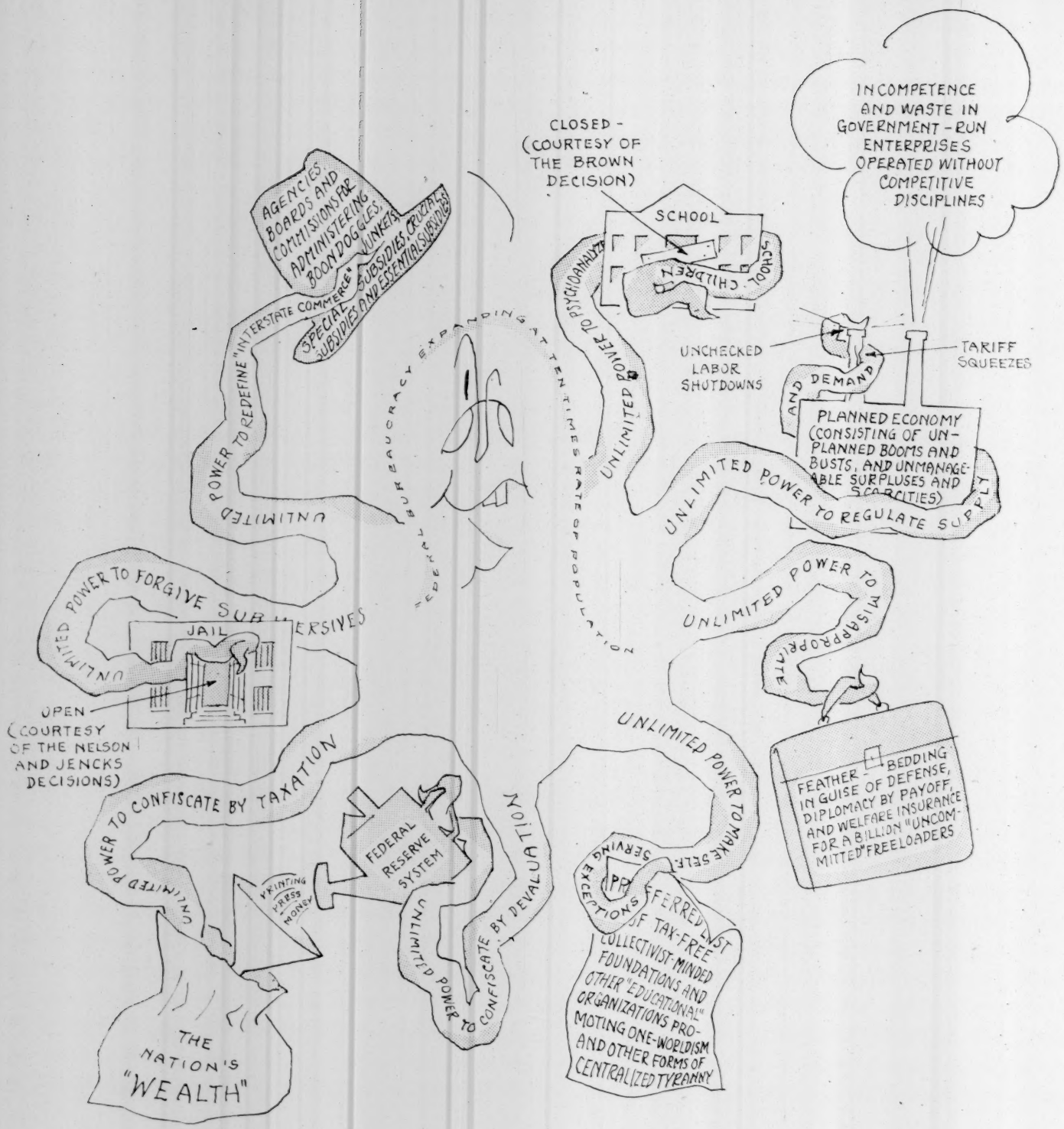
Consider the case of ecclesiastic property. Churches and parochial schools are federal property. If Catholics (or Presbyterians or Seventh Day Adventists) receive permission to build either a chapel or a college, the moment the last touch has been added by the masons the building automatically becomes federal property and could, in theory, be used as a garage, a barracks or as an accounting office for the state lottery. Yet the building program of the Catholic Church is prodigious. Nowhere have I seen so many architecturally modern Catholic churches as in Mexico, built by the Catholic ecclesiastic authorities *spiritually* for the faithful, but *materially* for a state which proclaims the most radical separation of Church and State, but which permanently lends the buildings to ecclesiastic bodies.

Growing Old—or Up

The paradoxes in the situation are multiple and will grow deeper with time. The reason for the contradictions in the "system" lies in the gradual loss of revolutionary vigor by the P.R.I., which, 25 years ago, was the party of sanguinary persecution of Christians, of unfettered adulation of Russian Communism, of expropriations and wild "social engineering." The "Revolution" has settled down and the old ideologists have either died out or made fortunes. Just as the spiritual descendants of the French revolutionaries became the laic and dreary middle class of the Second, Third and Fourth Republics, so the fire-eaters of the Mexican Revolution have been gradually transformed into the not-so-unwilling allies of the "capitalist" United States. Socialism still remains their official program, but they have learned from experience that free enterprise, enticing conditions for foreign capital, respect for the spiritual convictions of less "progressive" citizens; that all these obsolete attitudes work.

I stood a long time under the mural of Orozco in the castle of Chapultepec representing the "Mexican Revolution." A powerful picture, it betrays the essence of all successful Leftist revolutions. Here we see a large group of very pale, mostly bespectacled, sour and severe intellectuals with glassy-eyed illiterate Indians at their feet: the morbidly ambitious seducing the innocent. Viewing this painting I bethought me of all the little stories which describe the luxurious life of the politicos who have made good under the banner of the P.R.I.

Mexico is moving fast. In a few generations the United States will be flanked by two very powerful nations in the North and in the South. They may become competitiors but in their rise, whether they realize it or not, they have gone through the "American school."


INCOMPETENCE AND WASTE IN GOVERNMENT-RUN ENTERPRISES OPERATED WITHOUT COMPETITIVE DISCIPLINES
CLOSED - (COURTESY OF THE BROWN DECISION)
SCHOOL
SCHOOL CHILDREN
AGENCIES, BOARDS AND COMMISSIONS FOR ADMINISTERING BOONDOGGLES, JUNKETS, SUBSIDIES, CRUTCHES AND ESSENTIAL SUBSIDIES
SPECIAL SUBSIDIES
UNLIMITED POWER TO REDEFINE "INTERSTATE COMMERCE"
FEDERAL BUREAUCRACY EXPANDING AT TEN TIMES RATE OF POPULATION
UNLIMITED POWER TO PSYCHOANALYZE
UNCHECKED LABOR SHUTDOWNS
TARIFF SQUEEZES
AND DEMAND
PLANNED ECONOMY (CONSISTING OF UN-PLANNED BOOMS AND BUSTS, AND UNMANAGE-ABLE SURPLUSES AND SCARCITIES)
UNLIMITED POWER TO REGULATE SUPPLY
UNLIMITED POWER TO FORGIVE SUBVERSIVES
JAIL
OPEN (COURTESY OF THE NELSON AND JENCKS DECISIONS)
UNLIMITED POWER TO MISAPPROPRIATE
FEATHER-BEDDING IN GUISE OF DEFENSE, DIPLOMACY BY PAYOFF, AND WELFARE INSURANCE FOR A BILLION "UNCOMMITTED" FREELOADERS
UNLIMITED POWER TO CONFISCATE BY TAXATION
FEDERAL RESERVE SYSTEM
PRINTING PRESS MONEY
UNLIMITED POWER TO CONFISCATE BY DEVALUATION
UNLIMITED POWER TO MAKE SELF-SERVING EXCEPTIONS
PREFERRED LIST OF TAX-FREE COLLECTIVIST-MINDED FOUNDATIONS AND OTHER "EDUCATIONAL" ORGANIZATIONS PROMOTING ONE-WORLDISM AND OTHER FORMS OF CENTRALIZED TYRANNY
THE NATION'S "WEALTH"

Kreuttner

"Hello, Folks! I represent Limited Government, as advocated by the Non-Socialist Democratic Party and confirmed by the Non-Socialist Republican Party. I say 'Limited,' because I only meddle in local matters where the states refuse to meddle, or where I feel that I can do a better job of meddling than the states are doing!"

The Senate Stirs to Life

The Republicans in the Senate may be swamped. But the opportunity is at hand, says a veteran reporter, to break away from the Johnson Gag on sharp debate

WILLARD EDWARDS

There was confusion in the Senate press gallery. On the almost deserted floor below, 25 amendments to a pending three-billion-dollar housing bill had just been adopted en bloc. There had been no debate, no explanation, no vote, merely a bland assurance that the amendments represented worthy compromises approved by the leadership on both sides of the aisle. Not for the first time, irritated correspondents were forced to descend to the lounge, call senators off the floor, and ask the nature of legislation accepted by happy agreement of the few present.

This was not an isolated instance of assembly-line legislation in the recent session. Nor were the amendments minor in nature. They reduced the total of funds in the bill by $475 million and completely rewrote complex provisions.

Ten more amendments were added in similar fashion and the bill was then passed in a mutter of "ayes," no roll call for a record vote being suggested to summon the great absent majority from presumably laudable pursuits. There was a chorus of jubilation over this rush passage of highly controversial legislation which, in past years, had aroused extended and sometimes violent discussion. But later an explanation of the bill's provisions had to be inserted in the *Congressional Record*.

Lyndon Johnson has established speed, unanimity, curtailed debate and the elimination of record votes as the hallmarks of good legislation. He has elevated the unanimous vote to a legislative ideal. Under his leadership a system of backstage bargaining for votes has reduced debate on the Senate floor to a dull formality.

In a summary of 85th Congress achievements, delivered in the closing hours of the session, Johnson hailed "nonpartisan," unanimous votes on three major measures (space control, emergency housing and Defense Department reorganization) and the overwhelming majority votes recorded on other important bills as "an ascent to great heights." The Senate, he exulted, had eliminated "strife" where once it created it. No dissent was voiced in a Chamber established by the framers of the Constitution as a check upon "the turbulence and follies of democracy." No member arose to suggest that strife over legislation was not necessarily evil; that it had in the past even killed bad legislation, as when Taft of Ohio in 1946 stopped a stampede to authorize conscription of strikers.

Less Sweetness—More Light

Johnson's most cogent argument for "cooperation" was the close division between majority and minority. Now, with a heavy preponderance of Liberals on both sides of the aisle, the Senate will join in combat. Witness the noisy Donnybrook over changing Senate Rule 22 in order to curb filibusters, which began almost immediately after the elections when a compromise offered by Johnson was spurned by Democratic supporters of the change who cried out against preserving "an illusory party unity."

The harassed majority leader will be buffeted by aggressive advocates of welfare-socialism such as Humphrey of Minnesota, Morse of Oregon and Clark of Pennsylvania from his own side of the aisle, and Javits of New York and Case of New Jersey from the other. A score of former conservative Republican supporters of "cooperation," led by Bridges of New Hampshire, will feel free to resume militant opposition to leftist trends. Gadflies like Lausche of Ohio and Williams of Delaware, who never did subscribe to the harmony program, will find unaccustomed support in their determined forays against hasty and ill-considered legislation.

The record of the last session shows what it means to reach "agreement without discord." It means brief and perfunctory debate; a lack of intelligent questioning; sparse attendance; the absence of quorum calls to summon absentees; the omission of record roll calls without which the public can never know which senators were present and how they voted; the approval of legislation in obvious ignorance of its meaning.

The Senate passed, after three minutes debate, a measure increasing the lending authority of the Export-Import Bank. No notice was given of this anticipated action which added a two billion dollar liability to the taxpayers' burden. More than 85 senators were unaware of its passage.

A few undominated spirits staged sporadic revolts against the "achievement without discord" system and even scored some minor successes. Senators Williams and Lausche teamed up to block one haphazard measure. It was designed to write off losses sustained by the Defense Production Administration during the Korean War and was described as "just a bookkeeping transaction." Penetrating questions from the two senators revealed the potential cost to the taxpayer as one billion dollars. Sponsors of the bill were so disorganized by cross-examination that Capehart of Indiana hastily suggested laying it aside "so we can give the Senate a little more intelligent information." No attempt was ever made to supply the "more intelligent information" and the bill died in committee.

Only once during the session was Johnson forced to bring an explosive issue to the floor. Yielding to pressure from a combination of Southern Democrats and Republican conservatives, he permitted debate just before adjournment on legislation to set aside certain decisions by the Su-

preme Court. But his maneuvers to prevent votes on passage of the two major bills put forward for consideration will be remembered as classic examples of cloakroom strategy.

When the most controversial of all measures to curb the Court, the Jenner-Butler Bill, was tabled by only an eight-vote margin, Johnson knew that a majority existed for the Bridges Bill, designed to restore to the states the power, recently wrested from them by the Supreme Court, to prosecute crimes of sedition. His forebodings were justified when a motion to table the Bridges Bill lost, 46 to 39. Meanwhile, McClellan of Akransas moved to substitute a far-reaching measure reviving many state laws previously held unconstitutional because of their conflict with federal statutes. An uproar ensued.

Drastic measures were obviously necessary. Johnson spread a story among his colleagues of both parties that a tie vote impended on a motion to recommit the Bridges Bill, thereby scuttling that and the McClellan substitute. A tie vote, he told Democrats, would put the decision up to Vice President Nixon who would reap political benefits, no matter how he voted. Kerr of Oklahoma and Frear of Delaware, Democrats opposed to recommittal, thereupon agreed to abstain from voting. On the Republican side, Bennett of Utah was told that the tie vote would "put Nixon on the spot." He switched his vote to support recommittal.

The motion to shelve the bill was thus approved, 41 to 40. There had never been a possibility of a tie vote, it became evident. The motion would have been defeated and the legislation kept alive for further discussion. There would then have been protracted debate, more displays of temper and closely divided votes—all marring the happy picture of order and harmony which Johnson was able to paint a few hours later as the 85th Congress became history.

During the debate, a number of senators had accused the Supreme Court of usurping legislative prerogatives. None suggested that the Senate in recent years has relinquished rights and privileges enjoyed for more than a century and a half. Conditions are favorable in the new Senate for regaining some of them.

A Dream

WILHELM ROEPKE

Last night I had a nightmare: I was back in August 1939, but of the two rivals in totalitarianism it was Russia, not Germany, which started the war. Having annexed the Baltic countries and taken Persia by inciting the so-called Sudeten Persians in North Persia against the Teheran government, she unmasked her game against Turkey. Stalin had sounded out public opinion in Western countries by asserting the traditional Russian claim to Constantinople, and when the weary question, "Die for Constantinople?" had convinced him that he would have his way in spite of guarantees given to Turkey he resolutely pushed ahead. Frantic efforts of the Western powers to conclude an alliance with Hitler against Stalin failed because of Hitler's claim to Poland and the Baltic countries.

Then, just as it happened in the real August 1939, a pact between the two rival dictators started the war; but in my dream it was Stalin, not Hitler, who first set his army in motion. In 1941 the situation was pretty desperate for the Western powers when suddenly Stalin, in order to get directly at Great Britain, made the fatal mistake of attacking Hitler. The political and ideological alignments were turned topsy-turvy. In the beginning, the war against the detested Soviets and their equally detested Nazi allies was fought by the Western powers under the honest and clear-cut slogan of anti-totalitarianism. From 1941 onward this was changed into anti-Bolshevism, which gave the dynamic Nazis the opportunity to make people forget the common denominator between Bolshevism and Nazism.

It was all extremely embarrassing, I remember. The Nazis and their intellectual foreign legion were triumphant; soft-minded people in the Western countries rapidly found their new bedfellow much more presentable than they had thought. An American ambassador, to cite but one case, wrote a book on his mission to Berlin which, admitting some reservations about the more brutal aspects of Nazism, dwelt with enthusiasm on its social policies and its highways, and explained the real meaning of the purges to a world eager to think better of its once-despised ally.

Other fellow travelers followed the example, and there was no end of presenting the Nazis as heroic, unconventional but good-hearted pioneers in organization, culture and efficiency. The thesis was advanced and widely accepted that Nazism was a special and quite respectable form of democracy which was best suited to the Germans and perhaps to the democratic "capitalist" countries as well. The flaming patriotism and valor of the German armies was seen as convincing proof of the unity of the country. Conjectures about the probable normalization of the Nazi regime were readily believed. Indeed, there seemed to be no limit to the credulity of a world which prayed to be bamboozled because it could not bear the truth.

Thanks to huge deliveries of arms and foodstuffs by the Western powers, Germany not only withstood the Russian onslaught but, when the tide of war had turned, assumed most of the laurels of victory. While her officials in liberated countries posed as champions of freedom, anyone who dared hint at the totalitarian nature of Nazism was at once branded a Bolshi. Through a secret understanding with the Western powers, Germany occupied Russia far beyond the Urals. It was taken for granted that the Nazis would decently refrain from using the occupation as a means of nazifying their zone or infiltrating other zones. Their gentlemanly behavior was also assumed with regard to other countries of Eastern Europe where they had set up puppet governments or governments cowed or bribed into obedience. The Third Reich was courted and flattered as a major partner in the new world or-

(*Continued on p. 471*)

Letter from London

ANTHONY LEJEUNE

A Time for Reappraisal

The free world is organized into three main complexes or families, and Britain is the only nation which belongs to all three. There is first the Anglo-American alliance or, if you prefer it, the alliance of the English-speaking peoples; this is at once the vaguest and probably the most important relationship of all. Secondly, there is the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, which, though spokesmen sometimes try to evade the fact, has its whole *raison d'être* in the fear of, and the conflict with, the Communist Empire. Thirdly, there is the British Commonwealth.

The start of the new year finds these organizations in their usual precarious and muddled state. The Anglo-American alliance presents the brightest picture. Hard work and sincerity on either side has paid off: relations are good. People still talk with more ill will than knowledge about Mr. Dulles, but admiration for his manifest courage is beginning to blunt the edge of dislike. There are still demonstrations and minor riots outside American rocket sites, but they don't involve a great many people and the work is going ahead. Indeed the freer exchange of information between the two countries has been so effective that it looks as though Britain's whole nuclear defense program will need re-phasing. About sensitive spots such as Cyprus and the Middle East, American policy has become more tactful and realistic. In those matters, such as relations with Colonel Nasser, where realism is still conspicuously absent, Whitehall and the State Department are apt to concur in error.

The NATO picture shows much less sweetness and light. With the exception of a certain *ad hoc* agreement in face of the Berlin crisis, the 1958 conference revealed a dismal scene of chaos. The NATO commanders complain that their plans are constantly being thrown into confusion by the veering defense policies of the politicians. The Germans have still not raised anything like the forces they promised. The Scandinavian countries are still anxiously trying to escape involvement in the Mediterranean. The Dutch have been talking about the futility of expensive preparations for a battle which next time might last only a few hours. Britain is far from blameless. She claimed the right to make unilateral reductions in her military contribution contrary to the wishes of the NATO commander. The preservation of the British economy probably is no less important to the alliance than the presence of a given number of British troops; but it was a dangerous example to set.

Internecine Struggles

The real trouble this year, though, came from France's relations with Britain. The welcome arrival in power of General de Gaulle has its penalties. The General is claiming for France a much greater say in the affairs of the alliance and is in a good position for bargaining.

Not only can he use the need for rocket bases in France as a counter but he has a great surge of nationalistic resentment on which to ride. The French believe, not without reason, that they were betrayed in Syria and Indochina; they are angry at their allies' refusal to admit that the war in Algeria is being fought in defence of NATO's southern flank. The failure of negotiations over the Free Trade Area has left Britain the particular villain of the day. Perfidious Albions are blamed for everything from the devaluation of the franc to allowing the Spanish to export a fizzy wine and call it champagne. And especially they are blamed for the annexation of Guinea.

Britain was in fact highly embarrassed by Dr. Nkrumah's precipitate link with Guinea, but the ordinary Frenchman will take a lot of convincing that the whole affair isn't another plot of cunning British imperialists.

Some people in Britain, even liberals, are now saying that the time has come when we must choose between Africa and France and that we should choose France. Quite a lot of people, horrified by the growth of dictatorship in Ghana and the signs of incipient black imperialism elsewhere in Africa, have been talking about ejecting Ghana from the Commonwealth. It is perhaps typical of woolly liberal thinking that the same people who yesterday clamored for immediate African independence should today be shocked because the African politicians are using their freedom in an illiberal way.

But let us pause. How in fact would we set about ejecting Ghana from the Commonwealth? There would presumably have to be a Commonwealth prime ministers' meeting and a unanimous decision. If this were tried, Mr. Nehru and Mr. Bandaranaike would almost certainly walk out. Ejecting Ghana, therefore, might well mean severing connections not only with Africa but with India and Ceylon as well. Ghana may yet prove the wedge which finally splits the white commonwealth from the rest. Even the notorious British love of compromise, of muddling through, will not be able to evade this issue for ever.

"There is pressure and prodding," said Sir Anthony Eden a few weeks ago, "by the Communist Powers and their satellites in Asia and Africa. In Iraq also there are serious developments. . . . That will continue until the Free Nations can determine common policies and agreed plans—political, economic and military—and put them into effect. What is needed cannot be limited, as NATO is, to one continent. Maybe a new organization will be brought into being. . . . I pray that it will not be too late."

The free world cannot afford so many family squabbles. Rethinking the nature of these organizations, making immediate national interests subservient to the safety of the great alliance as a whole, will be arduous and painful, but it is essential. Co-operation between the military staffs at NATO has always been excellent. The fault lies with the politicians. They are the ones who must do the rethinking. They have no higher or more urgent duty.

Principles and Heresies

FRANK S. MEYER

A Political "Law of Parity"?

Libertarian conservatives have with justice concentrated their attention upon the cancer-like growth of the State, as its malignant cells invade the body of society ever more widely. But as our attention has been concentrated upon this primary danger, upon the massive destruction by the State of the independent functioning of individual persons in a free society, another phenomenon, the obverse of this and yet integrally connected with it, has been less remarked. Or, when it has been noticed, it has been seen in its several parts, as a series of separate and disconnected problems, not as a single phenomenon.

I am speaking of the increasing inability of the State to fulfill its true functions. Its failure to fulfill these functions (functions which can be fulfilled by no other institution or organization) contributes to the decay of our civilization and our country almost as much as the overweening extension of its power beyond its natural bounds. Defense against external enemies; the preservation of internal order and the protection of the individual citizen in his life, liberty and property; the administration of justice: it is to provide for these necessities of the human condition that the State exists. But these functions, the State's reason for being, are deteriorating day by day and year by year in parallel proportion to the growth of the State's usurpations outside its rightful arena of activity.

If this seems paradoxical, consider: *Defense against external enemies?* As military budgets grow to massive proportions and their toll upon the citizen in taxation and inflation mounts and mounts, as frivolous projects of "foreign aid" add their totally unnecessary weight to the burden, as millions of men are conscripted in the decisive years of their preparation for life, what has the State done to protect us from our enemies? At the end of World War Two and for half a decade after, we possessed overwhelming military and material strength—and our enemies advanced one-third of a world closer to our jugular. In the years since, we have possessed, and we possess today, superior strength, and the enemy comes closer and closer without serious let or hindrance.

Preservation of internal order? Protection of the citizen in his life, liberty, and property? The State, with its systems of compulsory schools and its network of "social agencies," backed by the power of taxation and the unchecked sanctions of administrative tribunals, penetrates into the nooks and crannies of personal and family life, laying down the norms of conformity and driving out the traditional morality of the West to make place for a relativist ethic of adjustment. Where it does not belong, it enters; but where it should be acting, signs of breakdown multiply. Our great cities are becoming jungles where no man can go about his business or stroll in the public park in safety, and even inside the schools themselves our children are terrorized, knifed, and raped.

Administration of justice? While the multifarious measures of the Welfare State spawn tribunals with quasi-judicial power, dealing with every concern of the citizen, the very concept of justice based on principle is systematically being done to death in the courts of the land. In place of the immemorial counsels of jurisprudential and legal principle, expediency and the climate of fashionable opinion (always, of course, unconscious factors bearing upon judges, but now consciously and unashamedly invoked) become the bases of judicial decision. With the sanction of positivist philosophy, enforcement of the prejudices of the Establishment becomes the norm, while the idea of evenhanded and impartial administration of justice is scorned by the enlightened as a fairy tale from the Dark Ages.

Thus the valid functions of the State decay with the growth of its tyrannical power over areas which should not be its concern. I think I do not exaggerate the direction of the trend and the accelerating helplessness of the State in dealing with the problems for whose solution it exists. Even though our Establishment has not yet brought about here that combination of vast social penetration with utter inability to fulfill the true functions of the State, which destroyed the French Fourth Republic and made Gaullism necessary and possible, the same *direction* of development is clearly marked.

A "law of parity" would seem to be operating, whereby, as the State enlarges its claims and directs its p wer towards the total domination of society, it fails more and more to be able to do that for which we must depend upon the State: to preserve our order internally and against external enemies. If anything is to be learned from modern history, there would seem to be only one alternative to respecting this law of parity. Men cannot live without order of some kind, and there appears to be only one set of circumstances in which order—of a sort—can be maintained when the State establishes its power over the whole social process and over the lives of individual persons: that is the method of total terror and total conditioning, the method of Communism.

This is order; but it is a Hellish order—the stasis imposed upon human existence when the harmonious balance of function among human institutions is destroyed and power is loosed from the control of reason and morality. And it is the order we are likely to get if we do not drive the State back within its limits. Conservatives who stress the danger to freedom from the growth of State power and conservatives who stress the danger to freedom from the weakness of will of the American state in the struggles against Communism have much more in common ideologically than they sometimes think. The cause of limiting the State to its proper functions and the cause of maintaining and defending civilized order through a State strong in its proper sphere are in fact not two causes, but one.

THE IVORY TOWER

WM. F. BUCKLEY, JR.

What To Do About Sloppy Dress? Forbid It.

(From a question and answer booklet issued by The Alumni Council of Princeton University, June 1, 1958.)

QUESTION: *Why don't Princeton undergraduates look as glossy as they used to? Is it because the admissions people frown on well dressed, social-looking young men?*

ANSWER: *Certainly not. Since the war, Princeton undergraduates, like those in other colleges, have gone out of their way to wear beat-up clothes. It's a fad the GI's started.*

If I had been permitted to butt in with the next question, I'd have asked, "What would you do if the next fad called on the students to go about naked?" The answer would presumably have been as evasive as the first, probably something like, "My dear sir, there are laws against indecent exposure." To be sure, and there are none against wearing sweat shirts in a venerable university eating hall, or in a classroom where the lecture that morning may be on the age of elegance; none, even, governing dress in fraternity houses where, it is commonly supposed, it is the elite who meet to eat. The reason? Rules affecting a student's dress are . . .

But let me relate an experience. At Yale, ten years ago, there gadded about a distinguished professor of philosophy with a mania for equalitarianism. Notwithstanding, he was himself a man of personal taste, of imposing countenance and erect bearing, and one day he decided it would be reasonable to expect members of his college (undergraduate Yale is quartered in ten colleges) to come to dinner at the college dining hall dressed in coat and tie. Accordingly, he laid down the edict. Hours later, a student had summoned fellow members of the college student council in extraordinary session to devise appropriate means of resisting the act of tyranny. In due course the president of the council appeared before the guileless master and announced that it was the consensus of the student council that the ordinance he had passed was undemocratic. The master did *not* reply (such a reply would not have occurred to him, even as a lascivious possibility) "Tell the student council to go—eat democratically some place else." No, our professor of Philosophy simply rescinded his order, aghast at the revelation that, albeit subconsciously, he had entertained an Undemocratic Thought.

It is the knout of Democracy that is most generally used to flail those who believe the administrators of a college are entitled to specify, nay *should* specify, norms of undergraduate dress. The economic argument, implausible though it increasingly becomes, is still widely used. It holds that coats and ties are expensive, that therefore the uniform requirement that they be worn daily, and hence worn out prematurely, is a form of regressive taxation. The argument is unrealistic because in point of fact ties do not cost very much, and coats made out of a tough material will outlive even a pauper's inclination to wear them.

It is something else, really, that prevents the deans and masters from acting. They fear, in an age of permissiveness, the howl of protest. The dean of the Graduate School at Yale said recently, "The attire of students is incredibly sloppy. It would be fine if we could get away with a rule requiring ties at all meals. A good thing to press for in my retiring years."

Must we wait until the Dean retires? Let us hope not. Meanwhile, I make a few observations. The first: Does not insistence on a minimal standard of dress reflect a decent respect for the opinions of mankind? The same community that insists that one pay at least a procedural respect to the opinions of ideological aberrants can hardly be expected to shrink from deferring to society on the appropriate means of clothing one's nakedness. Even in the world of getting and spending, for whose coarseness a considerable contempt is stimulated in many colleges and campuses, coat-and-tie is a prerequisite to participation. The Beats who indulge their sloppiness as a symbol of their individualism can take the measure of their hypocrisy by reflecting on their imminent surrender—effective on the day they graduate into the world of commerce in which, almost to a man, they fully intend to spend their lives. The young graduate who informs Merrill Lynch, Pierce, Fenner and Beane that to require coat and tie is undemocratic, can expect a most un-Philosophic reply. I doubt, going further, that there is a Princeton undergraduate who would presume to call on Jack Kerouac without coat and tie. If disorderly attire is a genuine symbol of personal independence, then the college generation should stick by their symbol at least a few decorous weeks after the ink is dry on their baccalaureate degrees. If it is not that, then dishevelment is what it is: a blend of affectation and laziness.

The second point for the academic community to think over is the matter of authority. Is it theirs to stipulate a minimal standard of dress? Professor Joseph T. Curtiss of Yale said recently, "Respectful or respectable dressing is a characteristic of adult society. Some people are born gentlemen, other people acquire gentility during life, still others must have it forced on them." The tendency is to depreciate the beneficence of externally imposed norms of civilized behavior. There are many who, like myself, would, if left alone, permit our standards of personal dress to deteriorate to the level of the downright offensive. Conscientious members of society—and I include here, intending no offense, administrators of our colleges and universities—should not permit us to indulge our disintegrative proclivities. Coat-and-tie is merely a symbol. It could be courtesy; deference; reverence; humility; moderation: and are these not, all, the proper concern of a college administration? Is there a relationship between a faculty's weakmindedness, and a student body's disorderliness?

The Education of James Agee

EDGAR ANSEL MOWRER

Having long since given up most movies as a waste of time, I do not often read film reviews. Hence I came fresh to *Agee on Film* (McDowell, Obolensky, $6.50) and realized all I had missed. For here was a civilized, educated, highly literate critic, passionately devoted to what movies (and presumably radio and TV) could have become and did not.

The book is simply a reprint of most of his reviews of current films from 1941 to 1948, a few of them from *Time*, the majority from the *Nation*, plus a scattering of old essays from other publications. Quite frankly it is a gold mine of ideas, opinions, sharp insights and laments that practically all of the hundreds of movies he witnessed fell so far short of his own requirements—near perfection. In the *Nation* Agee poured out his soul; in *Time*, although he conformed to the prescribed Timese, he was brilliant, if occasionally smart-aleck, particularly in his briefs. In these he literally slaughtered his objects as no American has done since Mencken and Nathan of the *Smart Set* and the *Mercury*. Small wonder that he graduated from criticism to movie production, met the entrenched mediocrity, failed, and died at forty-five.

Agee on Film is interesting in so many ways that it offers a commentator several choices. He may comment on the subject's unswerving insistence on "honesty" as the test of quality. True, for *Time* he usually managed to find something in each film either amusing or admirable. But in the *Nation* he concentrated his complaints: art films are not being handled by people technically competent to turn out a good picture; most war films "use cinematic images dishonestly"; the "truly creative eye is lacking." Therefore, although "most of the best movies could be made on very little money and with little professional experience," he finds little to admire. The productions of Griffith and Huston, Chaplin's *Monsieur Verdoux*, a few foreign producers—these few demonstrated that "entertainment and artistry are virtually synonymous." The others were "dishonest" or incapable.

Yet to me the most interesting facets of this sensitive, complicated and irascible man were two: his political evolution and a sort of growing awareness that his real opponents were not American movie producers but American society.

In 1942, the date of the first *Nation* piece, he seems to have been a greatly gifted but fairly typical young American intellectual of thirty-two. He was an anti-fascist—few decent men were not. But he seems also to have shared the prevailing illusion of the time. This is the ancient cliché—my neighbor is my enemy, my neighbor's neighbor is my friend. In other words, because Nazism was evil and Nazis hated Communists, there must be a good deal to be said for Communists. (Some attributed Colonel Robert McCormick's strange tolerance of Hitler to the same fallacy reversed: Stalin was evil, Stalin [allegedly!] hated Hitler, therefore the latter could not be so bad.)

Yet Agee could not but see something wrong in Soviet Communism. This led him to the kind of political confusion that emerged in his review (1943) of *Mission to Moscow*, based on the description of the USSR by our former ambassador, the late Joe Davies. Confronting this monstrous though innocent travesty of the truth, Agee went both ways. On the one hand, he found it good to see the Soviet Union shown as "a nation which really understood fascism." Therefore he felt "considerable passion in [the film's] favor." On the other hand, deviation from fact was so obvious that he was compelled to admit that "the rest is shameful rot." His schizophrenia went so far that for once the cocksure iconoclast simply surrendered and admitted that he could not "judge most of the film."

Such a situation obviously would not do for a film critic. So like others in the same fix, Agee next drifted into (or unconsciously chose) a position "fairly close to political agnosticism."

This in relation to the Yalta pictures of 1945. Yet he continued to be moved by the President. Roosevelt, he thought "was becoming a great man" to whom "the approach of death brought a singular triumphant gaiety . . . resolute, cheerful, and a wonderful kind of recklessness."

The same year he protested against pictures of German atrocities which confuse "a desire for justice with a desire for vengeance." Nonetheless, in writing of *Mildred Pierce*, he still compared Nazi Germans and Communist Russians to the advantage of the latter (October 1945).

But in his review of *Open City* (1946) he ventured real criticism of those American leftists with whom he had certainly considered he belonged. A year later he noted that while nonpolitical or humanistic movie producers had made many unbeatable comedies, yet with very rare exceptions the only films which could possibly be termed heroic or tragic had all been made by leftists. This satisfied neither his wishes nor his deepest convictions. From then on he dismissed all "propagandist art."

December of 1947 registered the eye-opening of James Agee. The

Roosevelt Story, he wrote, makes you realize what a terrifying number of Americans are more ripe for benevolent dictatorship than for democracy and the sanctity of human beings as individuals. For by 1948 he "understood the convict who prefers freedom to security" and announced that among all enemies of those "who honor existence" Stalinists are "peculiarly dangerous enemies."

The above, if I have read it aright, registers a conversion-like political evolution which seems, in retrospect, inevitable with such a combination of intelligence and honesty.

WHAT Agee was really fighting, it seems to me, was not lack of "honesty" in American film producers and writers, but something in contemporary American society. Of course some film script writers do despise the public they write for. Perhaps some producers do too. But the question arises whether Hollywood's shoddy output is the result of deliberate pandering to the allegedly largest box office or whether it expresses a sincere notion of art and life. Some used to say that a good writer cannot produce a really trashy best seller.

Mission to Moscow was untrue to fact and harmful but not because Ambassador Davies or F.D.R. was dishonest. Both saw Communist Russia that way. And with such infallible mentors as the President of the United States and his Moscow envoy, why should the movie producers have smelled a rat? If we accept this view, it can lead to the conclusion that Hollywood movies fall short not because of any dishonesty but because they reflect a mass and machine society, however romantically. In coming to recognize an enemy in all that deforms or harms the living individual, Agee seems to me to have put his finger upon the basic problem of art in an age of low aesthetic standards. Some European governments seek to solve this problem by subsidizing theaters, concerts, art galleries and, in some places, movies. But how long can they withstand the pressure of creeping mediocrity based on the broadest possible appeal? Or does Hollywood underestimate the average taste? Perhaps Americans can take comfort from the fact that James Agee existed and was read, not only in the *Nation* but in *Time.*

Delphic Confusion

JOHN CHAMBERLAIN

YOUR REVIEWER has dutifully perused Gardner Murphy's *Human Potentialities* (Basic Books, $6.00), and, to use the professor's own lingo, he reports that he has had a most difficult time resonating to the structured gradients of the man's prose. He has also been at pains to ingest the Delphic utterances of Aldous Huxley's *Brave New World Revisited* (Harper, $3.00), and feels bound to confess that he doesn't know whether he was there yesterday or will arrive there the day after tomorrow.

Aside from their commitment to the Sybilline, the two authors haven't a great deal in common. Where Mr. Murphy is resolutely optimistic, Mr. Huxley prefers an atmosphere of guarded pessimism. Where Mr. Murphy's prose abounds in the technical barbarisms which all keepers of a "discipline" seem to think is the *sine qua non* of precision, Mr. Huxley uses a more ordinary vocabulary to the end of producing sentences that combine force and grace. Mr. Murphy, one gathers, is soaked in research, which he drowns in the ocean-swells of his paragraphs; Mr. Huxley, on the other hand, is inclined to pick his "research," if it can be called that, out of whatever book on social science happens to be popular at the moment. If the good features of each author could be abstracted and put together, we would have a single good writer; if the bad could be amalgamated and the rest excluded we would have a valid candidate for the worst writer of the century.

After wrestling with Mr. Murphy I am willing to admit that, up to a point, he is a wise man. He doubts that human evolution has completed its course. Both the "first human nature" (our biological inheritance) and the "second human nature" (our systems of cultural overlays) can, in his opinion, be recombined from time to time by the exercise of curiosity and intelligence. As Mr. Murphy says, the human race is not necessarily destined to a choice between world dictatorship and universal obliteration.

With this large, bland conclusion anyone with a modicum of glandular optimism must agree. But if Mr. Murphy is not predicting a final conflict between the forces of tyranny and those of chaos and old night, just what is his notion of what lies in between? He speaks, vaguely, of conjuring "creativeness" out of the "institutional mind" by the "invention" of "social meanings" and "of ways of using group organizations." Here, he says, "lies the importance of 'group dynamics,' 'small group research,' group therapy, and the thousand new skills which are being born today."

This is where your reviewer had to invoke the strength of a Hercules to choke off a yawn. "Group dynamics" —wha' dat? Is it a mob in motion, a committee being manipulated, a seminar taking suggestions from MacGregor (he sits at the head of the table), or just the old tricks of the courthouse gang raised to academic status? In the bad old days one spoke of such things as "persuasion" and "leadership." Now, in the good new days of which Mr. Murphy is the harbinger, it is "social engineering." In the bad old days one assumed that human beings had a right to resist if unpersuaded. "Group therapy," however, would seem to imply that some band of official headshrinkers has the right to prescribe the norms of "mental health." The still unpersuaded? Turn 'em over to the witch doctors!

As for my own "small group research" (me and my three cats), we have decided that "mental health" means staying out of the way of anyone practicing "group dynamics." Any witch doctor who is found on our place will feel the teeth of our mutt. We want to be persuaded in the old-fashioned way. Anybody can write us a letter. Otherwise, git!

Mr. Murphy is not, of course, actually trying to put anything over on the human race. He speaks respectfully of William Graham Sumner's animus against professional do-gooders who like to operate with other people's money forcibly extracted by the tax collector. He is not a believer in what William James called a "hard determinism." Nor does he wish to bind either the individuals or the parliaments of the day after tomorrow.

It's just that he has an apparently incurable addiction to the professional psychologist's belief that you can get more out of a word than you put into it, especially when the content is injected by a pump full of hot air.

WHERE Mr. Murphy rejects the beehive or the anthill as a likely model for 2059 A.D., Mr. Huxley is by no means sure that we can evade a universal conquest by mind-manipulators backed by atomic armament. Mr. Murphy trusts to an "emergent" humanity whose individuality will be fortified with new powers and resources; Mr. Huxley, on the other hand, fears a long-term extrapolation of the worst in current tendencies.

In the Brave New World of his original fable, the lesser breeds were kept in line by a scientific application of the bread-and-circuses principle. There was "soma" for the unhappy; extreme sexual license, a super-Kinseyanism, for those in need of "detensioning"; the "feelies" for those who had gone beyond the movies and television. Looking backward on his own scientific reworking of *Looking Backward,* Mr. Huxley is appalled to see how prophetic his 1931 fable has proved to be.

Item: We are, says Mr. Huxley, run by Big Business—the "Power Elite"—in league with its agents in Big Government. Item: the Little Man has become Over-Organized, a prey to manipulation by "hidden persuaders." Item: techniques of brainwashing are available to any group which is able to grab the power of the State. Item: the "soma" of *Brave New World* has its analogue in the tranquillizers of the moment: there is benzedrine to wake you up, Miltown to keep you content in the morning, aspirin for the late afternoon, and scopolamine for the night. (If the police want to get something out of you, there is pentothal, the "truth serum.")

To continue with Mr. Huxley's bill of particulars, there is "hypnopaedia," which consists of teaching you while you sleep. This trick is worked by rigging up a "pillow speaker" which injects "moral principles" into your dreams. It has, says Mr. Huxley, been practiced on criminals at the Woodland Road Camp in Tulare, California. Mr. Huxley does not condemn the uses of hypnopaedia in penology, but he wonders what would happen if it became a tool of paternalistic rulers.

The chief defect of Mr. Huxley's extrapolative method is that he relies on such contemporary fashionables as C. Wright Mills (*The Power-Elite*), William Whyte (*The Organization Man*), Vance Packard (*The Hidden Persuaders*), and a half-dozen modern Malthusians, for his "facts." In other words, he builds his future by projecting his curves from certain caricatures of the present. He does not seem to realize that the caricatures in question contain their own correctives—or, if he does realize it, he is so faint-hearted about it that he rouses no one to the pitch of a truly therapeutic anger.

Clio's Tattered Robes

K. S. TEMPLETON

IN RECENT YEARS some conservatives have felt that compulsory American history courses in high school and the promotion of the American Civilization major in college would help restore republican principles in the United States. At least one philanthropic foundation has supported American Studies programs in various colleges for the purpose of bolstering "Americanism." This position at first sight seems realistic as an antidote to the proliferation of social studies courses—"Problems of Democracy," "current events," and the like—which have replaced traditional courses in history and apparently have been effectively used by modern educators to foster collectivism and statism.

But nothing can better illustrate the fallacy of expecting American history, *as presently taught and written,* to counteract "creeping socialism" than two books recently written by young members of the historical profession: *The Pragmatic Revolt in American History: Carl Becker and Charles Beard* (Yale, $3.50) by Cushing Strout, and *We the People* (Chicago, $7.00) by Forrest McDonald.

Professor Strout of Yale University portrays the parallel development, as philosophers and writers of history, of Carl Becker and Charles Beard, certainly two of the foremost American historians of the first half of this century. Participants in the movement known as the New History, with its emphasis on social-economic factors in history, Becker and Beard adopted the pragmatic philosophy of William James and John Dewey. They denied the validity of the search for historical laws, as well as the possibility of determining absolute historical truth (the *real* facts of history), and they held that history must be rewritten by each generation in the light of its own experience and concerns.

With unusual sympathy and insight, Strout goes on to show how difficult it was for Becker and Beard to maintain this pragmatic view, and the relativism involved in it, as they themselves produced specific historical studies embodying theses of potential universal or deterministic application, such as Beard's economic interpretation of history or Becker's doctrine of progress. And as both men became more involved in the development of their own times, they found it increasingly difficult to refrain from postulating absolute values. Thus, Becker found himself compelled to idealize democracy in support of American participation in World War II, whereas Beard, having become during the Great Depression an advocate of technocratic collectivist democracy, viewed war as certain to destroy the progress of national domestic reform.

Anyone familiar with professional historical writing since the turn of the century can hardly fail to see that the influence of Becker and Beard has been in the direction of substituting philosophy of history for rigorous historical research and writing, so that much of what passes for history today, including textbooks, is more nearly propaganda than an objective attempt to recount what actually happened. Far from demonstrating that these two men's contributions to historical scholarship were of immense value—Strout's conclusion—his study serves more nearly to point up the fact that they almost destroyed

the historical profession. By weakening the search for ultimate historical truth and the careful gathering of facts, they paved the way for the decline of history into propaganda and the substitution of social studies for history. And at the same time they left the door open to the entrance of all manner of pseudo-scientists—social and behavioral. In fact, the historical profession today might best be described as a mass of historical behaviorists and statisticians topped with a frosting of dilettante philosophers of history. The philosopher of history, if he can escape his present dedication to collectivist, totalitarian democracy, has important scholarly functions. But so has the pure historian if he maintains his search for the facts—"all" the facts—in a rigorous historical context of time, person and place, and if he remembers that understanding comes through a determination of the specific and unique characteristics of the event.

As Forrest McDonald of Brown University shows in *We the People*, a detailed critique of Beard's famous *An Economic Interpretation of the Constitution of the United States* (1913), attention to fact can still be the historian's goal and can easily rout the pseudo-scholarship of presentist, frame-of-reference historians. Beard and Becker felt that the historian must attempt to explain *how* things happened, not simply record the fact that they did happen. In order to do this, he must learn to ask the proper questions, or pose the correct hypotheses. These will be determined not by anything arising out of data collected but rather from the "social needs and aspirations" of the time in which the historian himself is writing! As McDonald demonstrates with painstaking care, this may be a good code for writing fiction but not for constructing an accurate historical record which requires not just the asking of any questions but rather asking questions within the historical context itself. What McDonald does in his study is to take the principal facets of Beard's thesis about the Constitution—all of which stress economic class-struggle themes—and subject them to rigorous factual analysis. The evidence he produces shows that the facts simply do not support this Marxist interpretation.

Beard's thesis has strongly influenced American historical writing during the four decades following the appearance of his book. Why should it have taken forty years to subject this thesis to a rigorous testing? Not only will McDonald's book be a landmark of historical research, but it will also stand as an unpleasant reminder to the historical profession that it has largely failed to meet what one would suppose are truth-seeking standards of scholarship. In effect, McDonald has testified to the enormous damage done by Beard and his followers to *history as a discipline*. One might expect historians of all people to be most immune to contemporary prejudices, but the two books under review expose the role that Becker and Beard played in making history serve the collectivistic trends of the present.

These books should leave no doubt about the naiveté of the idea that American historical writing and teaching in itself will promote "Americanism." Perhaps, of course, conservatives can capture the historical profession for their own presentist purposes, even as Becker and Beard did, but in the process of adopting the stance of these men, conservatives would risk losing their souls to pragmatic relativism!

Fortunately for the future of history itself, Strout and McDonald in their work provide evidence of a new spirit of independence among younger historians. It looks as though the new generation of historians may at last emancipate their discipline from the partisanship which has blurred its vision and destroyed its only reason for being: to find out the whole truth about the past. Otherwise, we might as well settle for social science, belles-lettres and Marxist philosophy of history, and call history quits. It may not be true that "man has no nature, only a history," but the historians had better act as though it were.

Random Notes

Among the books announced for spring: *Flying Tiger, Chennault of China*, by Robert Lee Scott Jr. (Doubleday); *The Republic at the Crossroads*, by Felix Morley (Regnery); two biographies of Elizabeth I, one by Edith Sitwell (*The Queen and the Hive*, Little Brown), the other by Elizabeth Jenkins (*Elizabeth the Great*, Coward McCann); *The Sleepwalkers*, by Arthur Koestler (Macmillan), a discussion of intellectual history; *America: So Young to Die*, by Major Alexander de Seversky (McGraw-Hill), a criticism of American foreign policy; new novels by Robert Penn Warren, Jean Stafford and Saul Bellows; and, as previously mentioned, new books by James Burnham, John Chamberlain, William Henry Chamberlin, Frank Chodorov and Max Eastman.

Complaint of the Organization Man: Robert Van Riper, public-relations expert, addressing the Philadelphia Booksellers Association: "I am appalled to see an industry spend so much money, time and, yes, emotion, in bringing a book to market, and then relying mainly for its promotion on such a completely unreliable, unsatisfactory, and *uncontrollable* element as book reviews."

Silence is golden, or *Fools rush in where angels fear to tread*. Sherman Adams is at work on his memoirs. It is reported that he is negotiating with Harper's for their publication in book form and with *Life* for serialization. To be entitled *The Vicuña Story*?

A little late for the holiday season, there has just come to our attention a really useful How-To book, *Bonjour Hangover*, by Hassoldt Davis (Duell). A combination of common sense, medical research and personal experience, it is an amusingly written but seriously practical guide to the avoidance of a painful morning-after.

F.S.M.

Men and Manners

In Praise of Injustice

MORTON CRONIN

All the world praises justice, but who speaks up for injustice? And yet injustice is a boon second only to justice itself. In fact, it is often better, as I shall insist.

It is unjust that an old man, after hauling at a marlin all night, should finally reach shore with only the skeleton. But what would he be if the sharks had not done their job? Just a man peddling fish at the back door of a hotel.

What is more unjust than that some women should be better-looking than others? Yet this state of affairs is preferable to any alternative. We certainly would not want all women to be plain. And we just imagine we would be pleased if all women were beautiful, for if this were the case women would be about as interesting as so many California oranges, every one of which is beautiful.

And speaking of California, it is certainly unfair that some people can live in this blue and gold state while others must live in Minnesota. I myself have suffered the injustice of Minnesota winters. And yet, although I live in California now, there never was a state I loved like Minnesota. When I think of cars groaning in snowdrifts and of girls in stormcoats and kerchiefs, I still get homesick for the old misery. Thanks to injustice, Minnesota has something which California will never have—a radiant winter culture and a deep winter camaraderie.

Society could, if it tried hard enough, make life easier for luckless fishermen, homely girls, and people who live in Minnesota. Still, the rough hand of nature is so prominent in these examples that the reader may suspect me of shying away, in the development of my thesis, from those inequities which are more or less exclusively the work of man. The reader does me an injustice.

Nothing affronts an American like those injustices which attend the distribution of jobs, a process which does indeed, like a frail woman, go all to pieces under the smooth hand of man alone. But if perfect justice were done, the social and professional hierarchy would range, insofar as character and ability are concerned, from almost pure white at the top through successively darker shades of gray to almost pure black at the bottom. Under the present system, on the other hand, gifted individuals are scattered like oases or pools of light all up and down society, and nobody is without familiar access to some of them.

Which is the more appealing picture? Is it really a pity that Huckleberry Finn ended his boyhood by lighting out for the territory instead of enrolling at the University of Missouri? If all boys like Huck were snatched up and prepared for the careers which their talents deserve, what would we territorial bums do for a little grace in our lives?

The distribution of women is another process full of man-made injustices. It is hard to argue with the proposition that only the brave—or the good—or the intelligent—deserve the fair. But, the way the world wags, the fair are often won by balding playboys, shifty-eyed movie moguls, skinny crooners, and even hoodlums of the suaver sort. It is all pretty unjust, but the elimination of this injustice would deprive most of mankind of its romantic imagination. Thanks to the possibility of injustice, the mass of men—poltroons, sinners, dimwits and all—can always hope. It is a dead certainty that I shall never be a hero, a saint, or a theoretical physicist; but, who knows, I may be rich some day, in which case . . .

Not only hope, but friendship too, and even love, commonly receive the spark of life from injustice. Hardly anything makes people appreciate one another like sharing an injustice. I was reminded of this truth in reading *Mr. Roberts,* in which a stupid and unjust skipper is in fact the very salvation of an entire crew. What would the crew have done, making its unvarying trips between Tedium and Apathy, if its captain had been a decent sort? Every man would have exploded like a sun-baked tomato. As it was, the bitter voltage generated by ennui and frustration found a suitable object outside the men, was transformed into creative ingenuity, and periodically illuminated the crew with comradeship, loyalty, and even heroism. Suffering injustice, in fact, is so necessary to the achievement of spiritual poise and integration that where this achievement is especially prized, as in military academies and monasteries, the injustice is manufactured and administered in concentrated doses.

I have to smile, along with Lucifer himself, when I read of England's Angry Young Men. Living in the most equitable society in British history, they feel cheated, ineffectual, deprived of something vital. What is it that Kingsley Amis and John Osborne want? More social justice? An end to the royal family? That is what they say, but they don't understand what ails them. They are like women who receive nothing but respect from men. What they really want—what they need—what they are famished for—is injustice, with all the opportunities for hope, passion, and aspiration it provides. If the fair shares in England get much fairer, the Angries, deprived of the evils of free enterprise, will sooner or later insist on the horrors of totalitarianism. . . . When they perform as artists, their perceptions liberated from ideology, they often appreciate injustice, as *Lucky Jim* demonstrates, whose hero is rescued from inanity, not by British socialism, but by the arbitrary and irresponsible favor of an old capitalist.

I trust that the reader has now been recalled to the benefits of injustice. But he may still ask: "Can't one get too much of a good thing?" Of course. And the surest way to get

too much injustice, especially in our time, is to make extravagant efforts to achieve justice. Hitler, Stalin, Mussolini—all were men who harped on justice: justice for the Reich, justice for the proletariat, justice for Caesar's heirs.

That comparatively modest man who, in the tumult of appetite or ambition, wilfully decides to *flout* justice and simply take what he wants—such a man will, in fact, usually have a care to how completely he damns himself.

In order to sin with unflagging persistence, nothing less will suffice than a dedication to justice. Envy, cruelty, hatred—all are short-lived in their careers as simple freebooters, for under the skull and crossbones they cannot resist for long those men-of-war *Remorse* and *Fear*. But let these pirates take possession of the good ship *Justice* and they'll defy the King's entire fleet, happily sadistic in victory, sweetly masochistic in defeat.

The trouble with our notions of justice and injustice is simply that they are, after all, only human notions. And, since men are not gods who know everything about everything, the results of these notions are likely to contradict our expectations. Men must strive for justice, but the *worship* of justice, like the worship of anything human, is just another idolatry.

BOOKS IN BRIEF

THE STUDY OF COMPARATIVE GOVERNMENT AND POLITICS, by Gunnar Heckscher, with a Preface by W. A. Robson (Macmillan, $4.25). This is a technical handbook for teachers, researchers and advance students in political science. Written with clarity, brevity and a laudable absence of jargon, it should be useful to any general reader, but its chief value will be to scholars and teachers who want to sharpen the focus of their work. The critical reader will have to make his own corrections and adjustments. He will, for example, find no discussion of constitutionalism or of loyalty and security; nor will he find more than passing references to the Communist-totalitarian regimes which dominate half the globe and threaten the other half. At times the author reveals that pompous mixture of obviousness and obliviousness which is a vocational academic disease; thus: "It is quite probable that the development of 'militarism' and the importance of the military in relation to the civil power is closely connected with the extent to which the country is threatened by attack from outside." The discussions of socialism and the administrative state are superficial, and the author is not sufficiently critical of the pragmatic-materialist approach to the study of politics. Granted these objections, the book remains an excellent *vade mecum*. R. ENGLISH

THE GREEK EXPERIENCE, by C. M. Bowra (World, $6.00). An ignorant or venal reviewer, whom the publishers of this book have seen fit to quote on the jacket, claims that "every page bristles with bold and original conclusions." This balderdash, which will repel most prospective purchasers with its suggestion of charlatanry, slanders the author. He is a highly respected scholar and he has written a competent and orthodox introduction to the culture of Greece in the great age of creativity that ended with the Peloponnesian War. He is sometimes pedestrian and occasionally somnolent ("The expense [*sic*] of spirit gave place to a sense of shame"), but he concocts no novelties. Like all responsible historians, Professor Bowra understands that Greek art and literature are the expressions of a single supreme and immortal creation. Before that creation, all organized societies consisted of hordes of mass-men sunk in ignorance and socialism—mere livestock herded by shepherds whom their brutish minds mistook for gods. The Greeks made themselves individuals: they discovered that man may be the architect of his own mind and the arbiter of his own will. They thus produced the great climacteric in human history, and ever since there has been not one world but two: Greeks and barbarians. R. P. OLIVER

THE LIFE AND TIMES OF SIR ARCHIE, by Elizabeth Amis Cameron Blanchard and Manley Wade Wellman (University of North Carolina Press, $5.00). Sir Archie ran but seven races and won only four. But his final three victories were so decisive (two of the races he finished in a walk) that he put himself out of business. There was no horse in the Southland swift enough to run against him. Retired to stud, he sired hundreds of horses which were to dominate the Tidewater tracks for a score or more years. His blood flows in the veins of such contemporary greats as Gallant Fox, War Admiral and Native Dancer. Of greater interest than the begats, is the picture here presented of racing in America and particularly in the South in the early 1800's. We are told of the great race of 1823 when 20,000 Southerners traveled to New York to see their champion, Henry (son of Sir Archie), take on the fabulous New York horse, Eclipse. They left $200,000 behind when they returned home. We're told of one Abner Robinson who, having bet heavily against Lady Lightfoot (a Sir Archie filly), bought her after she breezed in to an easy victory in the first (of a possible five) four-mile heats and scratched her from the race. "His sportsmanship," say the authors "was considered far below his ingenuity." P. L. BUCKLEY

In our next issue W. H. Auden will review The Image of the City, *by Charles Williams.*

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To the Editor

USIA Replies

The December 6 issue of NATIONAL REVIEW carried a story in which a statement occurs that the United States Information Service is refusing to pass along to Americans abroad copies of Richard Walker's forthcoming book on Communist China.

In the interest of accuracy, I wish to offer two corrections. First, the U.S. Information Agency is in business to promote an understanding of the United States, its people and its policies, among the citizens of other countries. The Agency has nothing to do with reading matter for American personnel serving abroad. Second, the Agency has already sent overseas more than 1,400 copies of the *New Leader* version of Richard Walker's book on Communist China and is ordering 200 copies of the book itself prior to publication. Additional copies will certainly be purchased after the book is published and becomes more widely known. In our business, this is far more than "token" distribution.

With regard to Edward Hunter's *Black Book on Red China*, the Agency sent review copies to each chief of the USIS mission and will purchase any additional copies that are requested as a result of this distribution.

RICHARD G. CUSHING, Director
Office of Public Information
United States Information Agency
Washington, D.C.

The Prodigal Son's Brother

. . . I have noticed a tendency among NATIONAL REVIEW's editors to applaud Mr. Thomas E. Murray who, admittedly, has adopted a tougher position on military preparedness, and to chide Mr. Lewis Strauss for failing to barrage the public with statements in favor of keeping up our nuclear tests.

Granted that there is more joy in heaven over one sinner that repenteth than over many righteous, yet the return of prodigal Murray is no reason to needle elder brother Strauss. Mr. Murray does well to deplore U.S. capitulation to Soviet propaganda on nuclear testing, and you do well to commend him for it. It is, however, a matter of record that Mr. Murray long made common cause with Senator Clinton Anderson, Senator Albert Gore (who also now deplores the stop-test decision his own political activities did so much to produce), and other Democrats on the Congressional Joint Committee on Atomic Energy in their unscrupulous attack on Strauss.

A quick check of back numbers yields from *Time,* November 28, 1955: "In support of his proposal [for a meeting at the summit with a grand finale nuclear test] Murray placed a heavy stress on the fall-out of radioactive strontium from thermonuclear explosions . . . He believes this danger has been inaccurately minimized in official public statements." From *Atlantic,* May 1957, by Warren Unna: "Murray formulated the ban on superbomb tests which later in the year [1956] was to be given a somewhat garbled endorsement by Adlai E. Stevenson."

As AEC Chairman, Strauss clearly, forcefully, and repeatedly declared the need to continue nuclear tests. Because NATIONAL REVIEW has itself a unique record of nuclear foresight, including support of Strauss, I hope you will not fall into the attitude of the politician who complained to a life-long patron, "But what have you done for me *lately?*" After all, the Admiral has been Secretary of Commerce only a few weeks.

Natchitoches, La. MEDFORD EVANS

Peace on Earth . . .

I want to take issue with your editorial of December 20 concerning the lack of Christmas observances in the East Islip, N.Y., public schools . . . .

The fact that the majority of people in a given community are Christian does not justify compulsory Christian observances in the public schools, however widespread this practice may be. Surely you would be distressed if a community with a Jewish majority decreed that all children observe the Jewish festivals.

Woodside, N.Y. HERBERT NADLER

What "Firehouse"?

In "Down to the Firehouse" [December 20] James J. Kilpatrick rejects the dream of a third party. Does he forget that the once proud Republican Party began as a third party? We

need a new party for the traditional Democrats who can't stomach the Republican label. Taft was hurt by the "Mr. Republican" title.

And does Kilpatrick expect us small folks to work hard at the grass roots to elect a Morse or a Nelson Rockefeller? The Democrats are bad enough, but it's the Liberal Republicans who are killing us.

Los Angeles, Cal. JOHN M. BUCHMAN

"With an 'H,' with an 'H' . . ."

You are certainly entitled to the Paleozoic opinions one reads in this sheet, but I can assure you that you will not find any but amused readers among my colleagues on the University of California faculty . . .

D. M. REYNOLDS

Berkeley, Cal. (Harvard College '42)

A DREAM

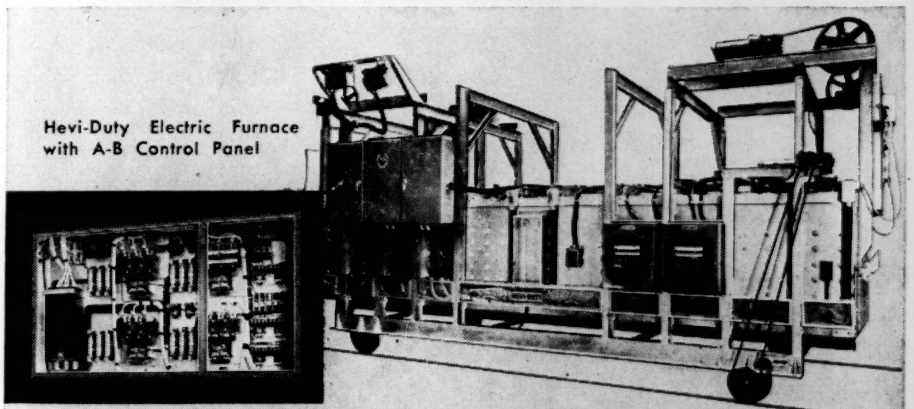
(*Continued from p.* 460)

ganization, and in spite of the Nazi system Germany was invited to join the Allies in their effort to reconstruct a free and multilateral international trade and monetary system. Medals, invitations and speeches were exchanged to cement the great friendship of the Big Four, and while the armies occupying Russia discovered hideous concentration camps there, news of similar camps in Germany was ignored.

The subsequent disappointment, I dreamt, was terrific. After several months nobody could fool himself any longer about what Germany was up to. Aided by the most skillful propaganda dramatizing Germany's need to secure her borders, Hitler proclaimed one territorial demand after another: he used the unrest of the so-called Azerbaidzhan Germany in Czechoslovakia as a pretext to overrun her. In spite of strong notes from the Western governments, he was confident that his intellectual foreign legion had so confused Western public opinion as to paralyze any effective resistance.

At this point I awoke, thoroughly frightened. In the twilight between dream and reality, it crossed my mind that things could not really be as bad as that: Nazism could never win the sympathy of any considerable part of the non-totalitarian world.

The morning paper came, and I realized the truth which was more terrifying than my dream.



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